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The American Civil War in the Indian Territory



John D Spencer • Illustrated by Adam Hook



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Dedication

This book is dedicated with much love to Caroline and Lizzy, for letting me get away with it for so long, and without whom this work would have been impossible.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

INTRODUCTION

The Indian Territory was one of the most tragic battlegrounds of the Civil War, setting members of the same tribes against each other. It might have been expected that the war would find Native Americans taking the opportunity for revenge. During the war Federal troops served against the Sioux, Navaho, Kiowa, Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho amongst others; however, these conflicts often owed as much to the continuing pressures exerted by the spread of western settlement as to the war. The Comanche and Cheyenne continued to raid Texas, sometimes at the instigation of Union supporters willing to purchase stolen livestock. However, there were tribes in the Indian Territory which had a greater and more direct stake in the war.

A policy of enforced removal of native communities had been pursued since the 1830s, and resulted in the establishment of the Indian Territory, approximating to present-day Oklahoma. This country was originally sparsely populated by nomadic tribes such as the Comanche and Cheyenne in the west and the semi-nomadic Osage in the east; but Forts Washita and Arbuckle were then established, both to guard the trails to California and New Mexico and to provide security for the tribes which were removed there from the South. These were very different from the Plains Indians: many had adopted the "white man's road", becoming increasingly dependent on agriculture, and even acquiring African-American slaves.

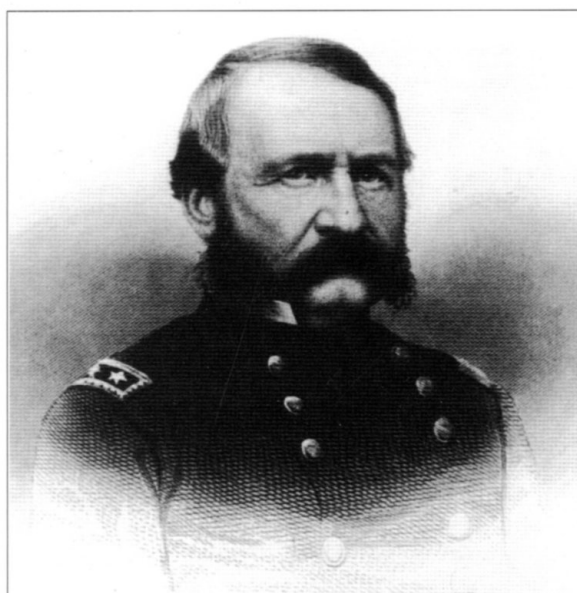
The largest tribe were the Cherokee, whose considerable acculturation had not protected them, even though they were the first Native American tribe to develop their own alphabet, publishing laws in 1821 and a newspaper in 1828. Under pressure, the Cherokee leader Major John Ridge signed the Treaty of New Echota ceding Cherokee land east of the Mississippi; this split the tribe, and its terms could only be applied by force. In 1838 Gen Winfield Scott oversaw the removal of 17,000 Cherokees, about 4,000 of whom died on the "Trail of Tears." Continued dissension led to violence between the pro-treaty faction, primarily mixed-bloods, and the full-bloods, who regarded it as a betrayal.

The Creeks moved from Georgia and Alabama under the same pressures. The Choctaw and Chickasaw were allied; in 1830 the Choctaw signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, ceding most of their Mississippi homeland, and by 1838 most had settled in the Territory, where they

Lieutenant Pleasant Porter, a Confederate officer of the 2nd Creek Cavalry; after the action at Flat Rock Ford in September 1864, the Cherokee General Stand Watie commended him for capturing seven revolver-armed Kansas cavalymen. He wears a "battle shirt" under a captured Federal overcoat, and carries a Colt .36in M1851 Navy revolver. (Smithsonian Institution)



Colonel William H. Emory, 1st US Cavalry, the pre-war commander in the Territory. On April 16, 1861, he captured skirmishers from the Texas Mounted Rifles, claiming the first Confederate prisoners of the war. He had begun to rally his detachments from the 1st Cavalry and 1st US Infantry when he received orders to withdraw to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on May 2, 1861. Guided by Delaware scouts Black Beaver and Possum (see page 50), Col Emory led his 750 men, with 150 women, children, teamsters and other non-combatants, on the 500-mile journey, with the loss of only two deserters. He ended the war as a brevet major-general. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



were joined by the Chickasaw. The Seminole fought a prolonged guerrilla war in the Florida swamplands, where some remained, but many settled in the Territory; they did not practice slavery, and the tribe included runaway slaves. In 1843 the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole formed a Confederacy known as the Five Civilized Tribes.

Smaller tribes also moved into the Territory, mostly to the Wichita Agency where Wichita, Waco, Caddo, Tonkawa, Delaware and Comanche were amongst those living under the protection of Fort Cobb. Small numbers of Quapaw, Shawnee, Seneca and Osage also settled there, away from their main reservations on the northern borders.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861 the Civilized Tribes faced a dilemma. As independent nations, they had treaties with the US Government and relied on its army for protection; but culturally and economically they were close to the South. Many Indian Agents and officials were Southerners (Douglas Cooper of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Agency was a friend of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, a fellow veteran of the Mexican-American War).

SUMMARY OF MAIN CAMPAIGNS & ENGAGEMENTS

April–October 1861

Union garrisons were withdrawn from Texas, Arkansas and the Territory, and Confederate troops occupied the forts. Abandoned by the government, the Cherokee and Creek once more suffered internal divisions, and the Civilized Tribes raised regiments for self-defense.

Indian Commissioner Albert Pike negotiated treaties, promising that the Confederate States would recognize the Civilized Tribes as sovereign nations, honor their annual payments, and not require them to serve outside the Territory. Treaties with the Kiowa, Arapaho, Wichita, Comanche, Caddo and Tonkawa were aimed at keeping them neutral and preventing raids into Texas. The Quapaw, Seneca and Shawnee also signed treaties with Pike under pressure, but remained loyal to the Union. The Delaware, long loyal to the US government, moved to Kansas.

The Cherokee Mounted Rifles patrolled the border for the Confederacy, and other Indians acted as Pike's escort. A small Cherokee company under Joel Mayes (with whom William Clarke Quantrill served) also fought for the Confederacy at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, on August 10, 1861. This Southern victory, following the Federal defeat at First Bull Run, made alliance with the Confederacy more likely.

Opothleyohola's campaign, November–December 1861

By October, 4,500 Confederate Indians were organized with Texan support, and the real



tragedy of the Civil War in the Territory began. Opothleyohola, a full-blood Creek chief loyal to the Union, gathered 5,000 followers, including some Seminoles and fugitive slaves, and moved towards the Kansas border hoping for military support. Douglas Cooper, now colonel of the Choctaw & Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, led an expedition to force him into allegiance to the Confederacy or drive him from the Territory.

Map of the Indian Territory and neighboring states, 1861–65, with locations mentioned in the text. (Dave Connolly)

Jesse Chisholm, a mixed-blood Cherokee, was a respected trader and interpreter who accompanied Albert Pike in 1861. A Southern sympathizer, he later moved to Kansas. In 1864, when interpreting for Federal officers promising guns, ammunition and loot to Comanche, Kiowa and Arapaho warriors, he took the opportunity to urge the Comanche chief O-hop-ey-a-ne to refuse. In March 1865 he brought trade goods into the Territory, following the route of Col Emory's evacuation. After the war this became famous as the Chisholm Trail. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



Opothleyohola fought successful rearguard actions at Round Mountain, November 19, and Bird Creek, December 9 – where he was joined by Cherokees who deserted from his attackers, appalled at fighting fellow full-blood Indians. But the pursuit continued, and on December 26 at Chustenahlah (Patriot Hills) his warriors were broken. Most of their goods and stock and hundreds of women and children were captured, the survivors fleeing to Kansas and Missouri.

Battle of Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern), Arkansas, March 7–8, 1862

After building Fort Davis as his headquarters, Gen Pike, who was given command of the Department of the Indian Territory, was ordered to join the Confederate Army of the West in Arkansas. The Creek and Seminole regiments did not accompany him, according to their treaties. The Cherokee initially fought well, capturing an artillery battery, but were disorganized by their success and retired to the timber after coming under further artillery fire. The Choctaw and Chickasaw did not arrive in time to participate. Confederate defeat led to the withdrawal of the Army of the West, and increasing isolation for the Territory. Pike fell back towards the Texas border and established his headquarters at Fort McCulloch.

Weer's expedition, June–July 1862

The Union Col Weer was tasked with returning Opothleyohola's refugees, and his expedition included two newly raised Indian Home Guard regiments. An initial foray on June 6 led to a successful surprise attack on Cherokee troops at Cowskin Prairie, and on June 28 the column entered the Territory. On July 3 the Confederate camp at Locust Grove was surprised at dawn, and the 6th Kansas Cavalry ambushed Stand Watie's Cherokees at Spavinaw Creek. Stand Watie had raised the 2nd (later 1st) Cherokee Mounted Rifles for the Confederacy. After these failures, and the capture of the Cherokee capital Tahlequah, many full-bloods from the regiment changed sides, forming a third Indian regiment for the Union. Weer then retired to his tent with a supply of whisky; and after ten days Col Salomon of the 9th Wisconsin Infantry arrested him and withdrew the command to Fort Scott, Kansas. The Territory erupted into lawlessness and inter-tribal warfare, and the newly returned Creek refugees were forced to flee once more.

Missouri & Arkansas, September–October 1862

Ordered to Arkansas to join the Confederate invasion of Missouri, Gen Pike resigned, disillusioned by lack of support and by criticism after Pea Ridge; he complained that he had never wanted the "damned command" in the first place. Colonel Cooper assumed command of the Indian troops, and took his own regiment, Stand Watie's Cherokees and 200 Texans into Missouri. On September 14 the 5th Missouri Cavalry ambushed

the 2nd Indian Home Guard at Carthage, capturing 200 rifles; and on the 20th, the 31st Texas Cavalry and a band of guerrillas under Maj Tom Livingstone hit them again, attacking their main camp at Shirley's Ford. Colonel Cooper fought at Newtonia, September 30, a Confederate victory assisted by a successful charge through the town by the Choctaw and Chickasaw. However, the Union Army of the Frontier forced Southern troops back into Arkansas and the Territory.

October–December 1862

On October 22, Col Cooper was attacked at Fort Wayne and retreated, abandoning his battery after the horses were killed by carbine fire from the 6th Kansas. On the night of October 23–24, far to the southwest, Union Indians raided the Wichita Agency, followed by a massacre of the Tonkawa tribe.

Confederate defeat at Prairie Grove, Arkansas, on December 7 isolated the Territory, enabling further Federal raids. Union Col William Phillips led the Indian Brigade in the destruction of Fort Davis on December 27 before retiring to winter quarters in Arkansas.

April–June 1863

Indian refugees continued to suffer over the winter, many encamped at Neosho, Missouri, where there was an outbreak of smallpox. Colonel Phillips' Indian Brigade, 3,000 strong, escorted 1,000 families back to their homes; and on April 12 he took Fort Gibson, forcing the Confederate garrison across the river. Renamed Fort Blunt (though the name never took), the post was fortified with earthworks and became the center of Union operations in the Territory. Its extended supply line – 160 miles along the Texas or Military Road from Fort Scott – was Phillips' major problem. On April 25 he attacked Webber's Falls, where Stand Watie, the newly elected principal chief of the Confederate Cherokee, was about to hold a council. Unable to rally his men, Col Watie escaped.

Some 5,000 Confederates soon faced Fort Gibson from across the river, under cover of woods. Cooper crossed the river overnight on May 19–20 and seized the Federal herd grazing outside before moving towards the fort. Phillips sent out cavalry skirmishers as his men manned the ramparts, before advancing with two regiments of the Indian Home Guard supported by a section of the 3rd Kansas Light Battery. The Confederates did not press the attack and withdrew, taking most of the horses with them.

First Battle of Cabin Creek, July 2, 1863

Skirmishing continued along the Military Road, and Stand Watie made a determined effort to capture a 300-strong wagon train. Union Cherokee scouts discovered that he planned to

Opothleyohola, or Gouge. In this 1836 portrait the chief of the full-blood Upper Creeks wears a feathered turban, blue hunting shirt with red and yellow motifs, sash and bandoleer bag. After leaving the Territory he worked tirelessly to obtain supplies for his hungry people and encouraged his warriors to join the Indian Home Guard; he died before the end of the war. (Author's collection)





This 1864 engraving of refugees in Missouri shows clothing typical of that worn by families which fled from the Territory. The man's overshirt or smock is the style from which the battle shirt developed. (Author's collection)

ambush it at Cabin Creek, where he had dug rifle pits covering the crossing. The wagons were corralled, and with support from the 2nd Kansas Artillery the escort, including Indian Home Guards and the 1st Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry, attacked across the waist-deep river and forced the Confederate Indians to withdraw.

Battle of Honey Springs (Elk Creek), July 17, 1863

Learning that Gen Cabell was bringing reinforcements from Arkansas after driving Union troops from Fayetteville, Gen Blunt determined to relieve Fort Gibson. Taking personal command, he moved on the Confederate supply depot at Honey Springs; several men were drowned as he rafted troops across the river. In the largest engagement to be fought in the Territory, 3,000 Federal troops with 12 artillery pieces defeated some 4,500 Confederates with 4 guns. A large detachment under Col Stand Watie at Webber's Falls did not take part. Union casualties were reported as 17 killed and 60 wounded, Confederate as 134 killed or wounded with 47 captured.

August–December 1863

Reinforced, Gen Blunt pursued the Confederates, who made the error of splitting their forces. On August 26 he took the supply depot at Perryville, before dispersing the bulk of his demoralized and poorly equipped opponents. Only Col Watie's men remained effective, continuing their guerrilla campaign as the Territory descended further into anarchy. Livestock were taken and crops burnt; thousands of pro-Southern Cherokee and Creek became refugees, moving into Choctaw and Chickasaw country or the Red River area of Texas. General Steele, Pike's replacement, resigned, to be replaced by Gen Maxey.

The most serious defeat suffered by the Federals during this period was inflicted by Quantrill's Raiders at Baxter Springs, on the Military Road just inside Kansas, on October 6. After an attack on the stockaded post was beaten off, Quantrill ambushed Gen Blunt and his headquarters party, 85 of whom were killed, many under questionable circumstances; for instance, 14 bandsmen from the 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry, and the bandmaster's 12-year-old servant, were murdered after surrendering. Blunt himself only escaped thanks to the speed of his horse.

After reorganizing his command, and accompanied by Quantrill's Raiders, Stand Watie skirmished around Fort Gibson ("Blunt") in mid-December, before raiding the area around Fort Smith, Arkansas. He returned to over-winter in the Territory at the end of the month.

February–May 1864

Determined to retaliate and press his advantage, Col Phillips led 1,500 men on a raid into the Territory. He ordered: "Those who are still in arms are rebels, and ought to die. Do not kill a prisoner after he has

surrendered. But I do not ask you to take prisoners. I do ask you to make your footsteps severe and terrible." On February 9 the supply base at Boggy Depot was overrun; of the 49 Confederate dead, it was alleged that many had their throats cut after surrender. Over that month Phillips covered 400 miles, coming close to the Texas border at Camp Kagi before returning to Fort Gibson.

Meanwhile, the Confederate Gen Maxey had reorganized his army and instilled a new offensive spirit. Walker's and Gano's brigades were ordered to Arkansas, where they fought at Poison Spring on April 18 – a Southern victory leading to the capture of a Union wagon train. This action became notorious for the massacre of men from the 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers amongst the escort. This new aggressiveness led to more Indian refugees, increasing the pressure on the Federal authorities.

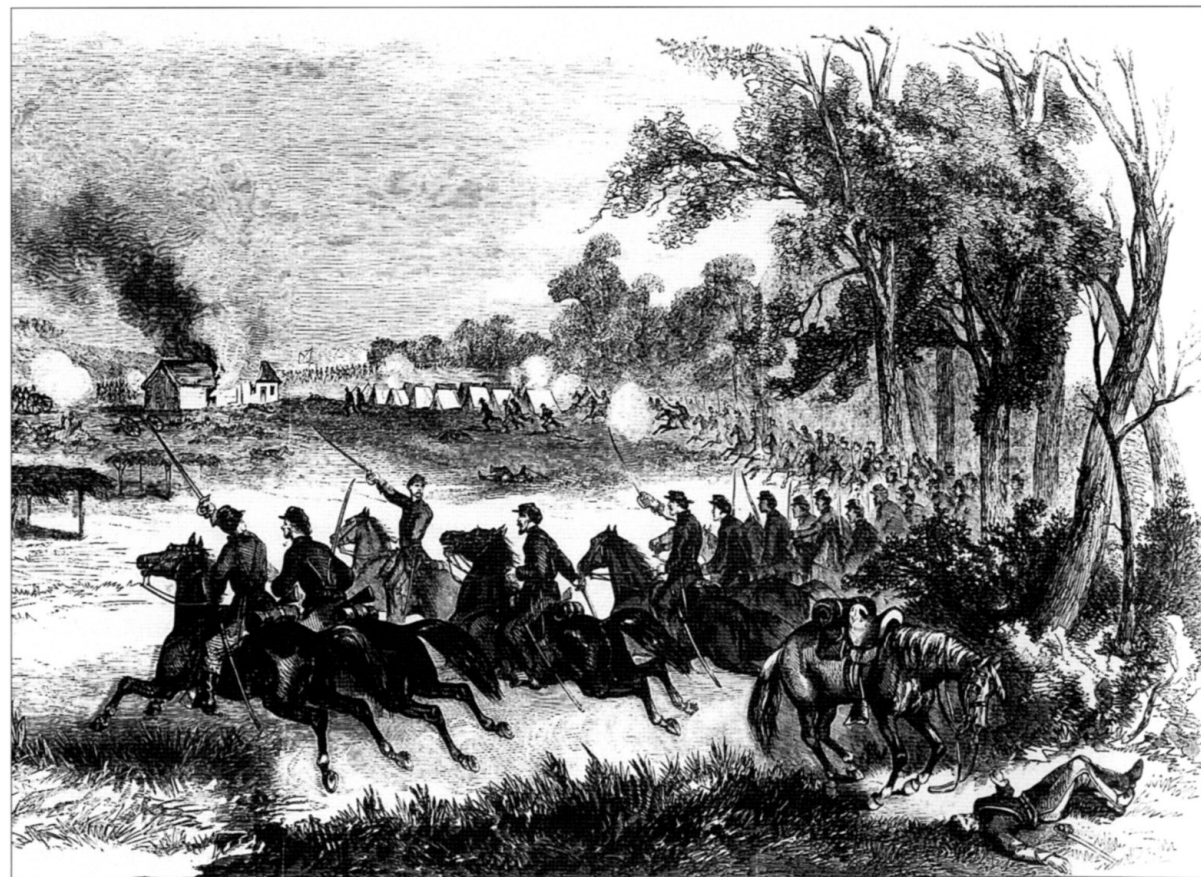
Pleasant Bluff, June 15, 1864

Confederate morale was boosted by Col Watie's capture of the steamboat *J.R. Williams*, disabled by artillery fire, forced aground, and abandoned by its 25-man escort from the 12th Kansas Infantry. A relief force from the 2nd Indian Home Guard did not arrive in time to prevent Watie's men from looting its cargo. Unfortunately, as often with Indian troops, it was difficult to maintain discipline after such a victory, and many men returned home with their booty.

A Union infantry encampment in the Territory; the log cabins suggest winter quarters. Under magnification these men can be seen to wear frock coats, waistcoats and slouch hats; a teenage drummer (seventh from left) wears a forage cap, and a uniform jacket with musician's $\frac{3}{8}$ in "herringbone" lace in light blue worsted on the chest. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



The battle of Honey Springs, July 17, 1863. The 1st Bn, 6th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, supported by a section of howitzers, made two successful saber charges during the battle; the first drove in the Confederate outposts, and the second – shown here – forced the retreating enemy to take cover in the timber. This romanticized view shows the 6th with regulation uniform, accoutrements and saddlery. This engraving of James O'Neill's drawing appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and is the only contemporary illustration of fighting in the Territory. O'Neill had the misfortune to be traveling with Gen Blunt's headquarters three months later, and was murdered following the ambush by Quantrill at Baxter Springs on October 6, 1863. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



July–August 1864

Colonel Cooper finally achieved his ambition of overall command when Gen Maxey was reassigned. Moving into Arkansas, he ambushed an outpost of the 6th Kansas Cavalry at Massard Prairie on July 27, but failed in an assault on the fort on July 30, retiring to the Territory and continuing to wage guerrilla warfare.

September–December 1864

General Cooper ordered Watie's and Gano's brigades to disrupt the haying and supply operations necessary for provisioning Fort Gibson over the winter. Outflanking the fort with 2,000 men and 6 artillery pieces, on September 16 the Confederates attacked a 125-strong detachment of the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry and the 6th Kansas Cavalry at Flat Rock Ford. Surrounded, they fought desperately; some of the cavalry shot their way out in a desperate charge, but most of the infantrymen were killed. Thousands of tons of hay and a haying machine were destroyed.

Three days later, at the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, Watie and Gano defeated the escort of an important wagon train, capturing large amounts of uniforms, accoutrements and ammunition. As the year ended it seemed that Confederates in the Territory were as well equipped, armed and led as they had ever been; but Federal losses were soon replaced.



LEFT First Lieutenant James B. Pond, Medal of Honor, 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry. His citation states that while in command of the post at Baxter Springs on October 6, 1863, he was "surprised and attacked by several times his own number of guerrillas, but gallantly rallied his men, and after a severe struggle drove the enemy outside the fortifications. First Lieutenant Pond then went outside the works and, alone and unaided, fired a howitzer three times, throwing the enemy into confusion and causing him to retire." Known as Fort Blair, the post at Baxter Springs was garrisoned by one company of the 2nd Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry, and part of the 3rd Wisconsin's Company I, which was out foraging when the attack took place. (Wisconsin Historical Society, ID 33498)

January–July 1865

Skirmishing continued, and news of Gen Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9 reached the Territory only slowly. On April 23 a Union patrol killed three men at Snake Creek, 58 miles west of Fort Gibson, and captured mail indicating that Gen Cooper, unaware of the surrender in the East, was planning an attack on Missouri. In May, an Indian council met at Camp Napoleon near the Wichita Agency, seeking to unite the tribes around the principle that "an Indian shall not spill an Indian's blood"; but by June it was clear that the Southern cause was lost. General Cooper gave his Indians the right to negotiate their own surrender, and gradually the tribes came in. On June 25 at Doaksville, Stand Watie (who had been promoted brigadier-general on May 6, 1864 – the only Native American general of the Civil War) was the last Confederate general to surrender; and the very last unit to come in was the Caddo battalion on July 14.

* * *

The war had devastated the Territory. Businesses had been ruined, mills, plantations and farms burned, crops spoiled and livestock run off throughout the whole of the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole lands and much of the Choctaw and Chickasaw territory. The Wichita Agency was destroyed. Guerrilla warfare and desperate refugee conditions caused thousands of deaths: at the end of the war it was reckoned that 33 percent of the population were widows, 16 percent fatherless children and 14 percent orphans. In the long term the treaties concluded at the end of the war, which treated the Civilized Tribes as sovereign nations at war with the United States, paved the way for the further division of the Territory at the hands of white settlers.

RIGHT Major George Washington (Sho-we-tat, "Little Boy") was the chief of the Whitehead Caddos on the Wichita Agency. Here he is wearing a turban, woolen leggings, a beaded bandoleer bag, moccasins and sashes, with a print shirt and a sack coat. From 1862 he served as "captain of the Indian spies" with a company of Caddos and Arapahos, but after Comanche raids on nearby Chickasaw settlements in summer 1864 the Caddo Frontier Guard was raised. Its two companies were captained by the Andarko chief José Maria, and Phil McCusker, a regular soldier who had also served as a scout. It was the very last Confederate unit to surrender, in mid-July 1865. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



The dandified George Maddox, a member of Quantrill's Raiders, wears a plumed hat and a classic "guerrilla shirt" under a Confederate frock coat with light-colored - yellow? - facings at collar and cuffs. He holds Remington Army revolvers, with another pair and a knife on his belt. (Dr Thomas P.Sweeney)

Jayhawkers, guerrillas and bushwhackers

Simultaneously with the formal campaigns described above, an almost constant state of ruthlessly cruel irregular warfare plagued this theater of the Civil War, and both sides were responsible for many unreported or forgotten atrocities. The vicious fighting along the Kansas-Missouri border occasionally spilled over into the Territory. "Jayhawkers" were originally Kansas Free-State fighters, but during the war this became the nickname of the 7th Kansas Cavalry, and was also applied to any looting band of marauders. The "Kansas Red Legs" also gained a reputation for indiscriminate violence. Guerrillas, or "Partisan Rangers," operated out of Missouri against the Union, and the most notorious - William Clarke Quantrill - was a frequent visitor to the Territory. Alongside these organizations were assorted bushwhackers, outlaws and deserters, Indian and white. Many wore elements of uniform, but owed no allegiance to either side, simply exploiting the anarchic conditions in the Territory to prey upon any victims they could find.

UNION FORCES

The list below gives an idea of the average strength of Union forces available for operations in the

Territory. The majority of the regiments were raised in Kansas, although most Indian and Colored troops - many of the latter runaway slaves - did not originate there. Other states also contributed units, including Colorado. (The 1st & 2nd Kansas Colored Volunteers were later redesignated the 79th & 83rd Regiments, United States Colored Troops.)

District of the frontier, December 1863 (BrigGen John McNeil)

Fort Smith, Arkansas (Col J.Edwards):

12th Kansas - 9 cos (Col C.W.Adams)
18th Iowa (LtCol H.J.Campbell)
2nd Kansas Colored (Col S.M.Crawford)
3rd Wisconsin Cavalry, Co I (Lt J.A.Cavert)
6th Kansas Cavalry (LtCol W.Y.Campbell)
14th Kansas Cavalry - 8 cos (LtCol T.Moonlight)
2nd Kansas Battery - 4 guns (Capt E.A.Smith)
(3,515 present for duty - PFD)

Second Brigade (Col J.Edwards)
1st Arkansas (Col J.M.Johnson)

2nd Kansas Cavalry (Maj J.G.Fisk)
2nd Indiana Battery (Lt H.Esprey) - 6 guns,
of which some perhaps with 6th Kansas
(1,020 PFD)

Roseville, Arkansas:

1st Kansas Colored (Col J.M.Williams) (579 PFD)
3rd Wisconsin Cavalry, Co G (Lt H.Goodsell) (75 PFD)

Unattached, Clarksville, Arkansas:

2nd Arkansas Cavalry - 5 cos (Lt G.M.Waugh) (286 PFD)

Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation:

First (Indian) Brigade (Col W.A.Phillips)
1st Indian Home Guard (Col S.H.Wattles)
2nd Indian Home Guard (Maj M.B.C.Wright)
3rd Indian Home Guard (Maj J.A.Foreman)
14th Kansas Cavalry - 4 cos (Maj C.Willetts) - with 3 guns
(2,083 PFD)



Native American recruits for the US Army, showing the ragged appearance of the refugees driven from the Territory by the Confederates. They wear civilian sack coats with scarves, which were also popular with soldiers. (Wisconsin Historical Society, ID WHI 1909)

Van Buren, Arkansas:
Third Brigade (Col T.M.Bowen)
 13th Kansas (LtCol J.B.Wheeler)
 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry – 5 cos (Maj J.C.Schroeling)
 Hopkins' Kansas Battery – 6 guns (Lt J.F.Aduddel)
 (530 PFD)

UNION UNIFORMS & EQUIPMENT

Quartermaster issue

After shortages in 1861, State regiments were equipped with regulation pattern clothing by the Federal government.¹ Some variations were as follows:

Headgear

The M1858 dress hat ("Hardee" hat) was adopted for all troops. It was trimmed with ostrich feathers, and the brim was pinned up on the left with a brass eagle badge; branch-of-service insignia and/or unit numbers/letters were worn on the front. Officers wore black-and-silver hat cords and embroidered badges, enlisted men worsted cords in branch colors and brass insignia. This was often adapted by reshaping the crown, cutting it down, wearing the brim turned down, or leaving off the trimmings.

The M1858 forage cap, with its 1861 modification of a softer visor (peak), was also issued; officers wore the lower French-style képi. Mexican War forage caps, civilian cloth and fur caps, and black felt slouch hats were also often worn.

Frock coat

This was double-breasted for generals and field officers, single-breasted for company officers and enlisted men. Enlisted men's coats were piped in branch colors at collar and cuffs. Rank was indicated by shoulder straps for officers and sleeve chevrons in branch colors for NCOs. Frock coats were occasionally cut down to convert them into shell jackets.

Uniform and shell jackets

The uniform jacket was issued to mounted men. It was cut to a point at the front and rear, with trim in branch color and two "bolsters" to support the waist belt. The shell or fatigue jacket was used by all branches. This was straight-cut at the waist and often fitted with epaulettes and/or belt loops, and binding in branch color on the collar, epaulettes and body.

Fatigue coat

Otherwise called the "sack coat" or blouse, this was a plain, thigh-length, single-breasted coat, lined

Second Lieutenant Cyrus Leland, 10th Kansas Volunteer Infantry. Leland was later promoted, commanding Company F at the battle of Prairie Grove on December 7, 1862, when he was wounded. His regulation frock coat reveals a striped cotton shirt, and his waist belt worn underneath, as was common in the field. (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka)



for recruits and unlined for general issue. It had four front buttons, a turn-down collar and an inside pocket. Officers often wore tailor-made versions cut longer over the thigh and with external pockets.

Overcoats

Overcoats were of sky-blue kersey wool, double-breasted with a cape reaching to the cuffs for mounted men, and single-breasted with an elbow-length cape for the dismounted. Regulations prescribed the M1851 "cloak coat" for officers, but in 1861 they were authorized to wear the enlisted man's overcoat when in the field.

Trousers

Trousers were of sky-blue kersey, designed to be worn with suspenders. Rank was indicated by a welt or stripe in the branch color (or dark blue for infantry). "Saddled trousers" reinforced with extra cloth on the seat and inside leg were issued to mounted men. Between 1858 and 1861 regulation trousers had been dark blue, and many officers wore these.

Underwear

Enlisted men were issued with a simple square-cut, pullover flannel shirt with a turn-down collar. These were usually white, but some were grey-blue or brown and occasionally of knitted material. Some of the latter were issued to troops in the Indian Brigade. They were accompanied by flannel drawers. Because of the difficulty of washing them, many men preferred to emulate their officers, who purchased their own cotton or linen shirts.

Footwear

Known as the bootee, brogan or Jefferson, a low, laced boot was worn by all branches of the service. Mounted men were also issued with a Wellington-style calf boot and a shorter half-boot, which was also used by some infantrymen. Officers frequently wore knee-high boots, which were sometimes issued to or purchased by mounted enlisted men.

Blankets, groundsheets and shelter halves

Issue blankets were often gray or brown, stamped or embroidered with the letters "US" in the center. In addition men received a black rubberized groundsheet which could be worn over the shoulders. The mounted men's pattern was slit in the center for use as a poncho. Each soldier carried a canvas tent half, which were fastened together to make shelter tents.

This canvas was issued to Indian refugees to be made up into simple clothing, and ticking pillow cases were supplied for carrying rations. Some of these may still have been in use during Weer's Expedition.

The Indian Home Guard

In somewhat patronizing terms, Sgt Wiley Britton of the 6th Kansas Cavalry described the Indian Home Guard shortly after its formation:

Lieutenant Reese J. Lewis, 6th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. In January 1864 he took his company on a scout into the Territory, traveling 130 miles and capturing a Confederate outpost, killing 7 and capturing 25 before returning to Fort Smith, Arkansas. His frock coat has first lieutenant's shoulder straps, and his dark blue trousers a 1/8 in yellow welt. (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka)



¹ For the purposes of this title, obviously only a brief general summary can be given. For more detailed information see *Men-at-Arms 177 American Civil War Armies*: (2) *Union Troops*, MAA 179...(3) *Specialist Troops*, MAA 190...(4) *State Troops*, MAA 207...(5) *Volunteer Militia*

Lieutenant John E. Thorpe, 10th Kansas Volunteer Infantry. After enlisting as a private he rose to first sergeant, and was promoted to second lieutenant in March 1863 after the regiment had accompanied Weer's Expedition and fought at Prairie Grove. He wears white dress gloves, and his regulation frock coat has first lieutenant's shoulder straps. His sword belt is worn over the regulation officers' red sash. The non-regulation hat carries the infantry bugle insignia in brass. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



"It was quite amusing to the white soldiers to see the Indians dressed in the Federal uniform and equipped for the service. Every thing seemed out of just proportion. Nearly every warrior got a suit that, to critical tastes, lacked a good deal in fitting him. It was in a marked degree either too large or too small. In some cases the sleeves of a coat or jacket were too short, coming down about two thirds the distance from the elbows to the wrists. In other cases the sleeves were too long, coming down over the hands... one might have seen an Indian soldier dressed as described, wearing a high-crowned stiff wool hat, with long black hair falling over his shoulders, and riding an Indian pony so small that his feet appeared to almost touch the ground, with a long squirrel rifle thrown across the pommel of his saddle."

As the majority of these men were full-bloods some elements of native dress remained, though on this the field sign of crossed pins – giving rise to the nickname "Pin Indians" – would also have been worn (see

commentary Plate E). Osage warriors were noted for retaining their traditional costume, and refugees from the Wichita Agency would also have kept their own style of dress. During Weer's Expedition it was noted that captured citizens' clothing, of no use to the white soldiers, was given to the Indians. Some of this may have been for their families, but other items would have been worn by the warriors.

Kansas troops

In common with other units, the 6th Kansas Cavalry initially wore civilian clothing and many men continued to do so after the regiment was uniformed; they also sometimes grew their hair long like their Confederate adversaries, as a disguise when scouting. A similar tactic was employed by Capt Tough's notorious "Buckskin Scouts," described as being as flamboyantly bedecked with feathers, ribbons and revolvers as the guerrillas they were hunting. Various described as being members of the 3rd, 4th or 5th Kansas Cavalry of Lane's Brigade, this group's history is uncertain. Buckskin clothing in typical Kansas style was worn by some officers and men.

This company replaced the notorious Kansas "Red Legs," named after their distinctive red or russet leather leggings, sometimes described as of sheepskin, and similar in style to those worn by Col Finn Hill (see photograph on page 19).

The 1st Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry were initially issued with gray trousers, but were soon fully equipped in a regulation manner.

Wisconsin troops

The 1st to 8th Wisconsin Infantry initially wore a poor-quality gray uniform with forage caps, black facings on collar, cuffs and epaulettes, and a black stripe on the trousers. Regiments from the 9th to the 16th were issued with a dark blue five-button sack coat with a standing collar piped with blue cord, sky-blue trousers, and a black felt hat or blue forage cap. By February 1862 all were equipped with regulation US Army clothing, as were the Wisconsin cavalry.

Union accoutrements

Most units in the Territory were supplied from government arsenals, though some early volunteers used civilian patterns. All leather was black except the gun sling, which was russet. The hard wear to which arms and equipment were subjected is described in this letter from the Allegheny Arsenal:

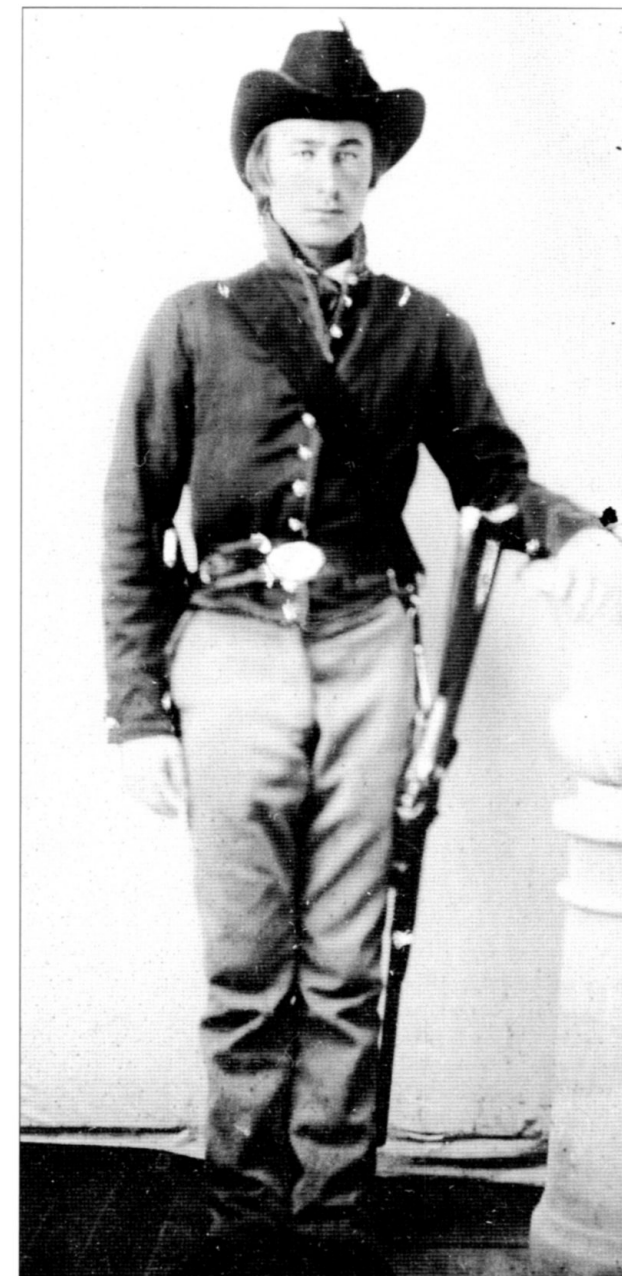
"The arms and accoutrements... have just been sent here, loosely piled in carts, they are all .58 inch rifle-muskets fitted for the Maynard primer but in wretched condition, covered with rust, many of them are utterly worthless, and generally deficient in parts of the lock, sights and bayonets... The accoutrements generally are unfit for repairing. It is proper to remark that these arms and accoutrements were issued new and in prime order from this Arsenal only about three months since."

Infantry:

Cartridge boxes

The boxes for the M1841 .54in rifle and the M1839 .69in musket were still in service. The rifle box had waist belt loops; the musket box was slung from a 2 1/4in wide shoulder belt bearing the M1828 plate stamped with the national eagle. Both had a brass "US" plate on the box flap. The M1857, fitted for waist or shoulder belt, was introduced in two sizes for .58in Minie balls and .69in elongated balls. All held 40 rounds in tin liners protected by an internal flap with attached "ears", and had an implement pouch on the front of the body.

During 1861 some boxes were issued without shoulder belts to economize on leather, but by 1862 wearing the box on the waist belt was discouraged. Minor modifications were made in 1861 and 1864: the shoulder belt was reduced to 2in wide, and the box plate was replaced by "US" embossed into the leather.



Private Jake Bartles, 6th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, seen here in a reversed image. Bartles wears a regulation cavalry uniform jacket, and his boots are worn under the sky-blue trousers, as per regulation. His infantry waist belt supports a revolver, and his shoulder sling a Sharps carbine. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



Sergeant John Chupco, Indian Home Guard. "Long John" was Town Chief of the Seminole *Hvteyievike* or "Newcomer" band. Described in 1859 as a "Blanket Indian," by 1870 he was well respected and one of the two principal chiefs. Chupco remained loyal to the Union. Here he wears an unlined sack coat with no visible chevrons, with regulation trousers and shirt and a carefully tied bandanna. The hat may be an adapted "Hardee" or a private purchase; it is worn with crossed-sabers cavalry insignia. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Cap pouches

These were fleece-lined and had a small loop for a nipple pick. The M1850 followed the M1845 in having the flap and latch-tab cut from one piece of leather; others made during the war were of "shield front" style with a separate latch-tab sewn on.

Waist belts

Officers' sword belts had the M1851 plate with brass or gilt fittings, sword slings and an over-shoulder strap, and were often of "folded" construction, made of thinner, sewn leather. NCOs wore a plain belt with the same plate. Swords were carried on a shoulder belt with the M1828 plate, often with a double frog for the bayonet as well, or in a sliding frog on the waist belt.

Enlisted men's M1856 belts were fitted with a plate similar to that on the cartridge box. Socket bayonets were carried in M1842 or M1855 scabbards according to pattern. Saber bayonets and some Enfield socket bayonets had sliding belt frogs.

Knapsacks and haversacks

These were of black painted or tarred canvas.

The M1853 knapsack was the most widely issued – a soft "double bag" with blanket and chest straps.

Other "single bag" patterns were used but, like Confederates, many Federal troops used blanket rolls. The haversack was fitted with a separate ration bag which buttoned to the inside.

Canteens

The M1858 canteen was of tin with a pewter mouthpiece and a narrow cotton sling. Initially it was covered with sky-blue wool; later dark blue, gray and tan jeans cloth covers were seen. The "bulls-eye" canteen, with concentric rings pressed into the sides to strengthen it, was produced from 1862.

Cavalry:

Belts

The M1851 cavalry saber belt had an over-shoulder strap, though this was often left off. The earlier whitened buff M1841 dragoon belt, a few of which may have been blackened and kept in service during the Civil War, had an oval plate. The belt also supported the revolver holster and ammunition box, carbine ammunition box and cap pouch. Cavalrymen wore a broad carbine sling over their left shoulder, with a snap hook to engage a ring sliding along a side bar on the weapon. Many men found the waist belt too short for all their accoutrements; the carbine box was often carried on the carbine sling, and revolver ammunition in the pockets.

Carbine and pistol boxes

Before the war mounted troops used the rifle cartridge box, often made without the implement pouch as many of their carbines



Captain William Tough of the "Buckskin Scouts" (left), and Col Finn Hill, 14th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Captain Tough, a "Kansas Red Leg," became the Union Gen Blunt's chief of scouts, and was one of the few survivors of Quantrill's ambush at Baxter Springs. Tough and his men often wore civilian or Confederate clothing, but here he is dressed in regulation uniform. The 14th Kansas was raised in November 1863 to act as Gen Blunt's bodyguard. In 1865 Col Hill died of consumption aggravated by hard service, one of the many casualties of disease. His fur-trimmed fringed buckskin jacket, fur cap and gartered leggings are in typical Kansas style, and a pair of brass-capped saddle pommel holsters have been adapted for wear on the waist belt. (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka)

incorporated a patch box for their tools in the butt stock. By 1861 a new pattern was in use, similar to the M1857 but not as deep, holding up to 20 cartridges. The Blakeslee was developed for the Spencer repeating carbine and issued early in 1865; this was a long box of hexagonal section containing ten pre-loaded tube magazines. The rifle cartridge box had served for .54in and .58in pistol cartridges, but the M1859 was introduced to carry packets of smaller caliber revolver ammunition.

Holsters

Military saddle-pommel holsters were still in use. Some carried pairs of M1842 single-shot percussion pistols or Colt revolvers; others were designed to hold a M1855 pistol or Colt revolver with their detachable shoulder stocks. The M1851 combined a pouch for grooming articles and a holster for a Colt Navy revolver. By 1861 most men carried their revolvers on the belt, but pommel holsters remained in use by officers, often with covers trimmed in branch-of-service colors.

The belt holster was generally form-fitted to the weapon it contained, with a large flap secured by a separate latch-tab. They were intended to be carried butt-forward on the right hip and drawn with the left hand, the right being kept free for the saber. In practice, they were generally pulled with a right-hand twist draw. Some were made to be carried butt-backwards on the right hip, or butt-forwards on the left. In 1863 a less "streamlined" pattern was introduced to accommodate a variety of revolvers.

UNION WEAPONS

Volunteers did bring their own firearms with them when they enlisted, but the government accepted responsibility for arming State volunteers from the outset of the war.

Rifles and muskets

The Springfield .58in rifle-musket M1855 and the .58in rifle M1855 were the regulation firearms, but wartime production was concentrated on the rifle-musket. The M1861 omitted the Maynard tape primer and patch box. Further modifications were made to the Models 1863 and 1864. Rated as a first-class arm alongside the Springfield was the British Enfield .577in rifle-musket Pattern 1853.

The supply of first-class arms was never sufficient. The .54in M1841 "Mississippi" rifle was reissued, as was the M1842 musket. Flintlock .69in M1822 muskets were converted to percussion; and some M1840 muskets were rifled and had rear sights added. Many other firearms were imported from Europe. Austrian weapons included the Augustin .70in M1842 musket and Lorenz .54in M1854 rifle-musket, some of which were rebored to .58 caliber. From Prussia came the .72in M1809 musket converted to percussion, and the .69in M1839/55 rifle-musket, referred to as the "Suhl rifle" after its place of manufacture. Saxony supplied the

"Dresden rifle," either the .71in M1844 or the .58in M1851/57. Liège-made copies of the French .69in short rifle M1859 were known as the "Belgian" or "Chasseur de Vincennes" rifle.

The Indian Brigade received a conversion of the .54in M1817 rifle (the "Common rifle"). Sergeant Britton wrote: "Most of them, however, were soon armed with a long barrel rifle known as [the] Indian Rifle, that used a round bullet that was quite effective at close range. The Government had on hand at Fort Leavenworth enough of these rifles to arm part of the organized Indians and issued them to the new regiments. Indeed, the Indians generally preferred them to the Army musket then in use, and when fighting in the timber where they could get a rest for their rifles, they were not to be despised on account of being antiquated; they used a percussion cap instead of a flint which was passing out of use."

Carbines and revolvers

Muzzle-loading carbines were rare, though some units carried muzzle-loading rifles. Many breech-loading carbines were in use, often within the same regiment. The oldest was the .54in Hall; the most widely issued, the .52in M1853 and M1859 Sharps; and perhaps the most effective, the .52in M1863 Spencer with its removable seven-shot tubular magazine. Other carbines seen in the Territory were the .50in Cosmopolitan, .50in Gallagher, .54in Merrill, .50in Smith and .54in Starr. Among revolvers, the Colt .36in M1851 Navy and .44in M1860 Army and the Remington .44in Army predominated, but many other American and imported patterns were issued.

Specific regimental issues

This variety of armament can be seen from the following details of regiments which served in the Territory:

2nd Arkansas Volunteer Cavalry

1862: initially received M1841 and M1855 rifles. Later that year these were replaced by Cosmopolitan, Gallagher, Smith and Sharps carbines, Colt and Remington Army revolvers and the M1840 saber.

2nd Colorado Volunteer Cavalry

1862: originally mustered in as an infantry regiment, it probably received the M1842 musket and some percussion conversions, as did the *1st Colorado*. 1863: on being converted to cavalry it was issued the M1861 rifle-musket; Starr and Merrill carbines; Colt and Whitney Navy revolvers; Remington Army revolvers; Lefauchaux revolvers; M1840 and 1860 sabers.

2nd Kansas Volunteer Cavalry

1861: originally mustered in as an infantry regiment, it received the M1842 musket, with the M1841 rifle for the two flank companies. After reorganization as cavalry it was issued with Hall carbines and M1855 pistol-carbines, Lefauchaux Army revolvers and the M1840 saber. 1862: the replacement of carbines with the M1855 rifle nearly led to mutiny. 1863: Sharps carbines and Colt and Remington Army revolvers.

6th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry

1861: men carried their own firearms. 1862: government issue included Austrian rifles, Sharps carbines, Colt Navy revolvers and the M1840 saber. 1863: Merrill and Sharps carbines, Colt Army and Navy revolvers and the M1860 saber. 1864: Spencer, Merrill and Sharps carbines.

9th Kansas Cavalry Regiment

1862: M1841 and Enfield rifles, Colt and Whitney revolvers, mostly Navy caliber; M1840 and M1860 sabers. 1863: Gallagher, Sharps and Smith carbines replaced the rifles.

14th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry

1863: Gallagher, Sharps and Cosmopolitan carbines; Remington Army revolvers, M1840 sabers. 1865: although by now effectively dismounted, the regiment received the Spencer carbine.

10th Kansas Volunteer Infantry

1862: formed by consolidation of the 3rd & 4th Kansas Infantry, it received M1841 and M1855 rifles. 1863: Springfield rifle-muskets.

1st Indian Home Guard

1862: most companies carried the "Indian rifle" and a variety of third-class arms. 1863: the M1841 rifle and M1842 musket supplemented the Indian rifle and Austrian, Prussian and French smoothbore muskets. 1864: Belgian Vincennes rifles with saber bayonets also issued.

2nd Indian Home Guard

1862: generally armed as the 1st but with a small number of Springfield rifle-muskets. Later issues followed those of the 1st.

3rd Indian Home Guard

1862: formed after Col Weer's expedition, it was armed along the same lines as the 1st and 2nd, also receiving an Austrian .58in rifle-musket. 1864: "Dresden" and "Suhl" rifle-muskets.

1st Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry

1863: described as having "converted muskets," probably .69in caliber. These probably included the US M1822 and M1842 along with imported patterns.

2nd Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry

1863: M1842 musket with some Springfield rifle-muskets. 1864: Enfield P1853 rifle-musket.

3rd Wisconsin Volunteer Cavalry

1862: Merrill carbine, Lefauchaux revolver, M1840 saber.

1863: Merrill carbine, Colt and Remington Army revolvers.

1864: Cosmopolitan, Merrill and Gallagher carbines; Colt, Remington and Lefauchaux Army revolvers; M1840 and M1860 sabers.

9th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry (1st German Regt)

1861: 6 cos with .58in Belgian rifle-muskets (possibly Springfield copies), 4 cos with Dresden rifles. 1863: Enfield P1853 rifle-musket.

Union edged weapons

Cavalry swords

The heavy cavalry (dragoon) M1840 saber – "old wristbreaker" – was succeeded by the M1860 light cavalry pattern, with a lighter and slightly



Private George F. Haas, Co A, 2nd Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, wearing – in this reversed image – a regulation uniform jacket and hat with an infantry waist belt. He carries the unpopular 12mm pinfire M1853 Lefauchaux revolver, known as the "French Tranter" or "Dragoon" (the 2nd Kansas initially received revolvers but no cartridges). One trooper said the Lefauchaux was "worthless and would not carry a ball over 15 steps." John McCorkle of Quantrill's Raiders noted that captured "French Dragoon pistol[s]... were very heavy at the muzzle and none of our men could shoot them with any accuracy." (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

shorter blade. Officers' sabers were similar, with a lightly decorated pommel and grip and an etched blade.

Artillery swords

The light artillery M1840 saber had a single-branch guard. Officers' were similar, with gilt mountings and an etched blade, but many carried the cavalry saber. The foot artillery M1833 sword, copied from a contemporary French infantry sidearm, resembled the Roman *gladius*, with a cast brass grip; it was carried in a brass-fitted scabbard on a waist belt with a two-piece circular buckle and an integral frog.

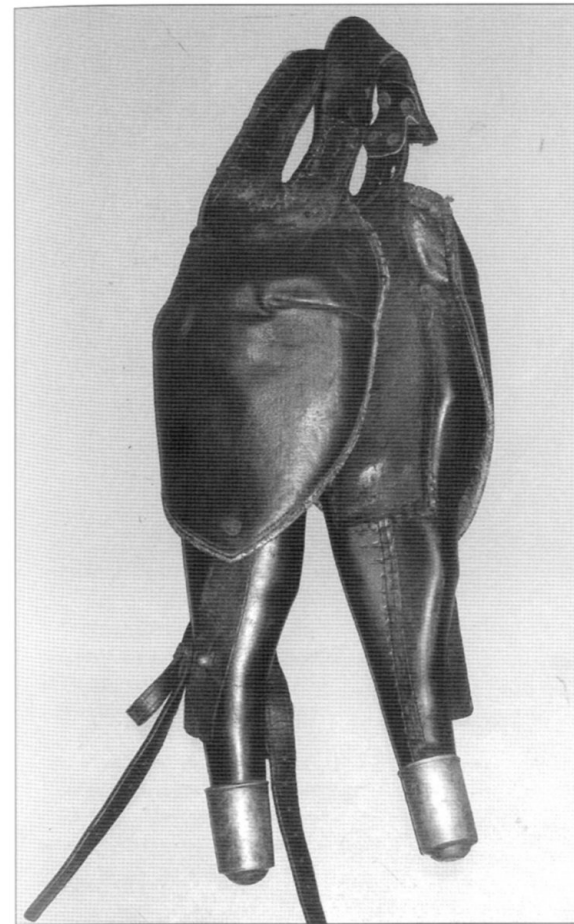
Infantry sword

The staff and field officers' M1850 sword had an etched blade and a gilt half-basket guard with the letters "US." The M1860, with its single-branch guard and lighter, narrower blade, was less popular. Company officers carried the foot officers' M1850 sword with a brass single-branch guard and etched blade, in a black leather scabbard with brass fittings. As swords were privately purchased the patterns varied, and non-regulation swords were also carried.

Sergeants were authorized to wear the M1840 NCOs' sword, with its cast brass grip and single guard, in a brass-fitted black leather scabbard. Musicians carried a shorter and lighter version.



Being mounted, the Indian Home Guard received some Union cavalry equipment. This man wears the regulation uniform jacket, although without shoulder straps. His hat is decorated with ostrich feathers, a hat cord and – just visible – an embroidered badge, suggesting that he may be an officer. In this reversed image the “shield front” cap pouch and flap holster have been moved so as to appear in the correct position, and for the same reason he holds the Remington .44in Army revolver in his left hand, the M1860 saber in his right. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



These privately purchased officer's pommel holsters, with yellow leather Cavalry trim around the flaps, held a pair of .44in Colt Army revolvers. (Author's photo: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum)

Sword knots

Generals had a gold cord with an acorn end, other officers a gold lace strap with a gold bullion tassel. The enlisted men's sabers were fitted with a black leather strap with fringed ends.

Bayonets

Most were triangular-section socket bayonets, earlier patterns lacking the locking ring introduced with the P1853 Enfield and M1855 Springfield. Saber bayonets accompanied the M1841 Harper's Ferry and Enfield P1856 rifles. A few of the cavalry units armed with rifles or muskets may have received bayonets.

Knives

Indian warriors carried knives, ranging from Bowie and butcher knives to the 50-cent pocket knife that Pte Folsom of the Choctaw & Chickasaw Cavalry took from a dead man at Bird Creek. When the Indian Home Guard was raised Gen Blunt wished to issue sheath or Bowie knives, but was told that the Indian Office had no funds for such a purpose.

Federal soldiers did not have the same regard for knives as Confederates, probably because they were better equipped and regarded them more as camp tools than as weapons.

CONFEDERATE FORCES

Other states, including Missouri and Louisiana, occasionally sent units into the Territory, and the Cherokee fought alongside the 3rd Louisiana at Pea Ridge; but the majority of men who served with the Indian troops were from Texas or Arkansas. The following list shows the results of Gen Maxey's reorganization of his forces. (Not listed is the 1st Osage Battalion commanded by Maj Broke Arm; some 200 strong, they served as scouts, particularly in the north and west of the Territory and into Kansas.)

District of the Indian Territory, spring 1864

Headquarters: Doaksville, Choctaw Nation

(BrigGen Samuel Bell Maxey)

Gano's Brigade (Col Richard M.Gano)

29th Texas Cavalry/Gano's Texas Cav Bn

(Col C. De Morse)

30th Texas Cavalry/1st Partisan Rangers

(LtCol N.W.Battle)

31st Texas Cavalry (Maj M.Looscan)

Welch's Texas Cavalry Company (Lt F.Gano)

Texas Horse Guards Artillery

(Capt W.H.Krumbhaar)

(737 present for duty, PFD)

Fort Washita, Indian Territory:
Indian Division (BrigGen D.H.Cooper)
Watie's Brigade (Col Stand Watie)
 1st Cherokee Mounted Rifles (LtCol J.M.Bell)
 2nd Cherokee Mounted Rifles
 (Col W.P.Adair)
 Frye's Cherokee Cavalry Battalion
 (Maj J.A.Scales)
 1st Creek Cavalry (Col D.McIntosh)
 2nd Creek Cavalry (Col C.McIntosh)
 1st Seminole Cavalry Bn (LtCol J.Jumper)
 (1,699 PFD)

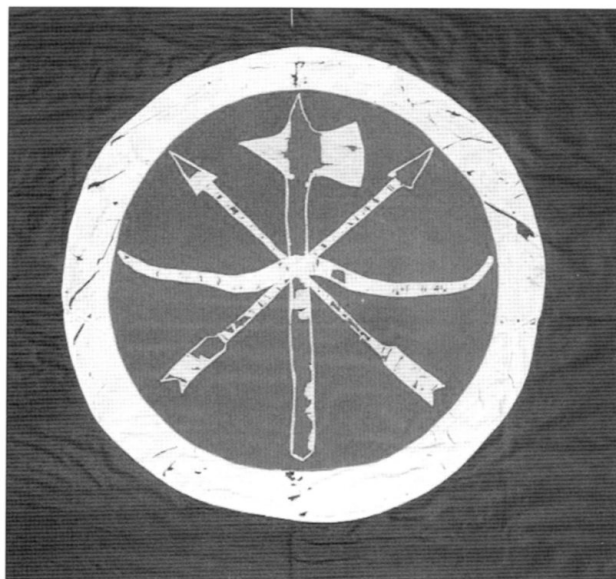
Walker's Brigade (Col Tandy Walker)
 1st Choctaw & Chickasaw Mounted Rifles
 (LtCol J.Riley)
 2nd Choctaw & Chickasaw Cavalry (Col
 S.W.Folsom)
 1st Chickasaw Cavalry Bn – *organizing* (Maj
 L.M.Reynolds)
 1st Choctaw Cavalry Bn – *organizing* (LtCol J.McCurtain)
 (2,788 PFD)

Unattached:
 3rd Choctaw Cavalry – *organizing* (92 PFD)
 20th Texas Cavalry – 4 cos, dismounted (Col T.C.Bass) (92 PFD)
 1st Bn Texas Sharpshooters (Maj J.Burnett) (250 PFD)
 Gillet's Texas Cavalry Bn (Maj L.E.Gillet) (115 PFD)
 Scanland's Texas Cavalry Bn (Maj J.Scanland) (115 PFD)
 Wells' Texas Cavalry Bn (LtCol J.W.Wells) (115 PFD)
 Lee's Texas Battery (Capt R.W.Ledd) (32 PFD)

CONFEDERATE UNIFORMS & EQUIPMENT

Early uniforms were improvised, and one of the most popular garments was the "battle shirt." Derived from the common pullover work shirt, these generously cut smocks or overshirts could be of homespun, cotton or wool, brightly colored or drab; they were frequently trimmed or braided with contrasting colors and materials, and fitted with breast pockets. Many were worn open at the neck, revealing a civilian shirt and sometimes a necktie beneath; others – such as the pattern worn by Gen Maxey's 9th Texas Infantry – were buttoned to the throat, with a neckband in a facing color.

Some units used a colored stripe across the shoulders as a company identification; the 9th Texas Cavalry used blue, black, yellow and red. One of the most striking battle shirts was worn by Douglas's Texas Battery which fought at Pea Ridge: dark red, with three lighter red tape stripes with brass ball buttons on the chest. The battle shirt also evolved into the "guerrilla shirt" worn by Quantrill's men. Easy to make and practical in use, such shirts continued to be produced by seamstresses



Flag of Col Tandy Walker's Choctaw & Chickasaw Brigade within Cooper's Indian Division, headquartered at Fort Washita. Based on the seal of the Choctaw Nation, it bears a white tomahawk and crossed bow and arrows on a red disc edged white, on a dark blue field. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

and soldiers' families alongside more military styles. "Fireman's" or bib-fronted shirts were also worn, and a surviving photograph of two soldiers of the 1st Choctaw & Chickasaw Regt shows matching fireman's shirts and trousers in a dark color, which may be a uniform.

Frock coats, sometimes double-breasted and often with military trimmings, were also seen, as were shell jackets; sack coat patterns were probably more common, however, such as that worn by Pte Marchbanks of the 30th Texas Cavalry. Colors ranged from cadet-gray to light gray and the many "butternut" shades. Trousers were of jeans cloth, kersey or wool, sometimes with military seam stripes.

As the war progressed shortages led to the use of captured Federal uniform. Lieutenant Grayson noted that:

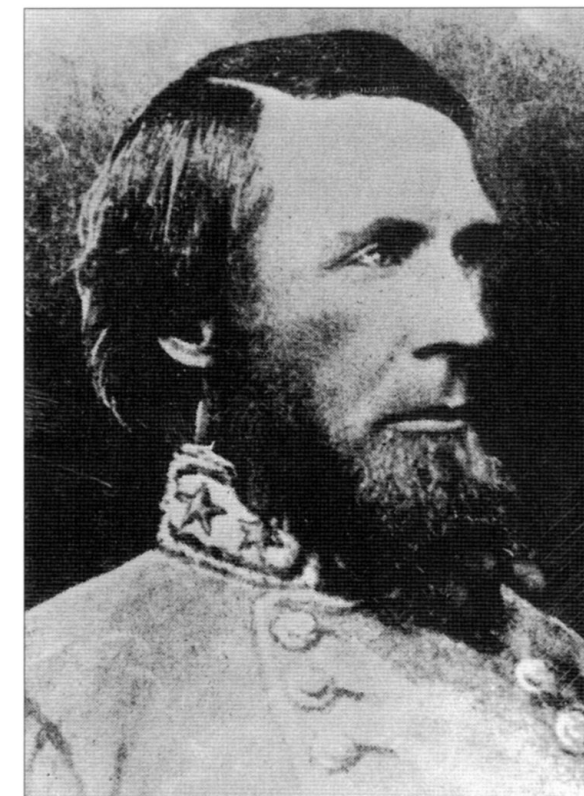
"Our soldiers were poorly clad and most of the time my company presented a motley appearance. The Confederacy being very hard run had very little in the way of clothing to issue to the men of this part of the country, and we were never very presentable. So when we caught a prisoner... we generally stripped him clean of such of his wearing apparel as we desired, they being always better than our own, and placed upon him instead such of our old duds as he could wear."

Grayson particularly criticized the hat his company was issued, of cheap, undyed wool with a narrow brim, and so poorly blocked that they soon reverted to their cone shape and scarcely lasted a month. One of his men "embellished it in true aboriginal style with one of the plumes of the... chicken hawk... securely fixed in the apex..."

After the capture of the Federal wagon train at the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, Pte Richard Martin of the 2nd Cherokee Mounted Rifles wrote:

"I didn't suppose we would have undertaken this enterprise had it not been for the fact we was destitute of clothing. The condition of my uniform on that occasion was that my shirt was without a back but the defect was covered by a friendly grey jacket with wood buttons. My pants from the pockets down were only represented by the lining. My shoes was almost soulless [sic] with a good slice of the upper gone... a division of goods took place, and then had Uncle Sam come upon us he would have claimed us for his soldiers as everyone of us was arrayed in bright blue uniforms."

Greatcoats were popular – Stand Watie wore one taken from the steamboat *J.R.Williams*. However, given the nature of the fighting in the Territory, where enemy uniform was used as a disguise, the penalty could



General Samuel Bell Maxey commanded Confederate forces in the Territory from December 1863 until Gen Douglas H.Cooper assumed command of both Indian and Texan units in early 1865. With his own company – the Lamar Rifles – Maxey was one of the first Texans to enter the Territory in 1861, when he urged the Civilized Tribes to support the South. This composite image shows him with lieutenant-colonel's insignia and buttons in threes; another photograph, taken in 1862 on his promotion to brigadier-general, shows buttons in the more usual pairs, and a képi bearing on the top surface a bullion star surrounded by brass lettering "TEXAS." (Confederate Research Center, Hill College, Hillsboro, Texas)



This Confederate shell jacket, which may have been worn by a soldier from Arkansas, is of light gray or drab jeans cloth which now has a slight "butternut" hue. The facings are of dark sky-blue wool, and it has a surviving brass "I" Infantry button. It differs from the more usual "Columbus depot" jackets in having a rounded collar and being cut straight at the back. (Author's photo: Collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society)

be severe. Sergeant Wiley Britton of the 6th Kansas Cavalry noted that:

"Orders were issued early in the war in regard to the punishment to be inflicted upon rebels caught wearing the Federal uniform. Every one captured wearing it should be tried by a drum-head court martial, condemned and instantly shot."

Attempts were made to alter blue coats by bleaching and redyeing them, but most were worn unchanged just as they had been captured.

Quartermaster issue

Double-breasted coats, or "tunics," were prescribed for all ranks, of cadet-gray wool with collar, cuff facings and trim in branch colors. Officer ranks were indicated by a combination of collar stars and sleeve knots, NCOs by sleeve chevrons. Forage caps in branch color were to be worn, with brass regimental numbers, and lace trimming for officers. Trousers were dark blue with gold lace stripes for general officers, and sky-blue kersey (reinforced for cavalry) for enlisted men and regimental officers. Status was indicated by 1½in branch-color stripes for officers and NCOs.

Volunteers hoped that the Confederate government would supply them with uniforms, but it soon became clear that this would not always be the case. Confederate depots at Houston, Jefferson, Tyler and Bonham in Texas, and Washington, Arkansas, purchased materials from Mexico, Great Britain, France and even the US in addition to domestic production, but could never obtain enough. Commutation – the practice of paying volunteers a sum theoretically sufficient for them to acquire their own clothing – continued well into the war, but the weakness of the currency and rising prices reduced its value. Private Sparks of the 9th Texas Volunteer Cavalry received \$8.00 for his underclothing, four shirts and four pairs of drawers; \$16.00 for his coat and pants; \$6.00 for his boots, and a further \$3.00 for his canteen, cup, knife, belt etc.

Even when issue clothing was available, men sometimes preferred their own. Colonel Morse of the 29th Texas Volunteer Cavalry paid the money he received for clothing to his men, remarking: "I had heard a great deal about Georgia cloth manufacture and Columbus has two mills, but none of the products I could find or hear of were half as good as our homemade jeans." The Texas State Penitentiary at Huntsville was the largest mill in the Trans-Mississippi, producing jeans cloth, kersey and osnaberg which was often made up by "sewing women" at the Houston Depot.²

² See MAA 426, *The Confederate Army 1861-65*; (2) *Florida, Alabama & Georgia*; and MAA 430... (3) *Louisiana & Texas*



Private W.F. Elizey of a Texas volunteer regiment wears a frock coat with shoulder straps and colored trim. Again, the accoutrements have been moved so as to appear on the correct side, but the percussion lock of his converted M1822 musket shows this to be a reversed image. He also has a Remington revolver, tucked into a belt with a rectangular brass plate. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

The uniforms produced rarely matched the regulations. Perhaps the most common was that now referred to as the "Columbus Depot" jacket, a style produced throughout the South which can be seen in surviving images of Trans-Mississippi soldiers. They were often contracted for by "piecing out" manufacture to home-based seamstresses, who were provided with a kit containing a basic cut-out garment, lining, trim, buttons and sometimes thread – which explains the variations to be seen in surviving examples. Made of jeans cloth – a wool-cotton mix which could range from "drab," an off-white undyed finish, to a light gray or butternut hue – and with an osnaberg cotton lining, these hip-length shell jackets were generally cut with a small rounded "tail" at the rear and a stand collar. Collar and cuffs were often faced with wool in branch colors. Fastened by five or six buttons – brass branch-of-service patterns, Union buttons, wood or bone – most had an external breast pocket.

Indian troops were particularly poorly served. General Pike was enraged to find that 6,500 uniforms, 3,000 pairs of drawers and 1,000 tents destined for his command had been appropriated by Texas units, and this initial shortfall was never remedied. On further occasions Indian commanders reported that white units had received preferential treatment in the issue of "grey uniform." In August 1862, Stand Watie wrote to Richmond that clothing "procured at great trouble and expense, to cover the nakedness of Indian troops, has on several occasions been distributed among less necessitous soldiers."

Lieutenant-Colonel James Bell of the 1st Cherokee Mounted Rifles wrote to his wife:

"People in Texas think we have an army standing in line for fighting... of that 5,000, 1,000 are without arms, and many have not clothing to change, without shoes, and what anyone in their right senses would say was in a deplorable condition looking more like Siberian exiles than soldiers... I have been in an almost nude condition. I have still got an old grey shirt and pair of pants on they are thread bear [sic]."

The Inspector General noted that units in Arkansas and the Territory were suffering from "inequality in the distribution of clothing," and partly as a result of this it was directed that from November 1863, 40

percent of all imported clothing, camp or garrison equipage would be sent to the Bonham and Jefferson depots for the use of troops in the Territory and Arkansas.

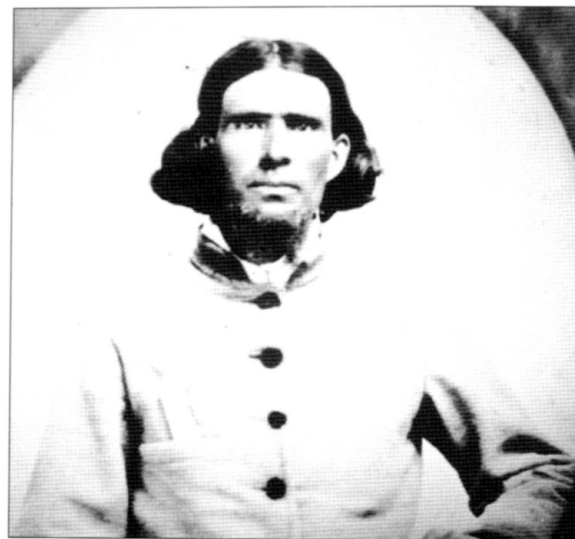
At the end of that year the department had an aggregate of 54,254 enlisted men, with 22,676 present for duty; however, all these soldiers had to be clothed. Regulations called for an issue of two jackets and three pairs of trousers in the first year of service, and one jacket and two pairs a year thereafter; but in the field a pair of trousers might last no longer than a month, and a jacket three months.

During 1863 the following were among items issued by the Clothing Bureau, with a small amount of finer quality cloth probably intended for officers' uniforms:

Item	total issued	Bureau-manufactured
Caps & hats	19,732	caps 15,230
Jackets	25,557	7,675
Pants	41,15	21,747
Overshirts	2,210	139
Shirts	54,585	43,651
Drawers	48,704	38,952
Boots & shoes, prs	40,860	6,269
Socks, prs	5,356	
Overcoats	637	571
Blankets & quilts	22, 236	311
Cloth, grey, yds	12,473	
Domestic, yds,	30,521½	
Drilling, yds	96½	
Flannel, yds	671½	
Jeans, yds	4,675½	
Jeans, cotton, yds	1,390½	
Kersey, yds	711½	
Linsey, yds	105½	
Osnaberg, yds	2,966	
Wool, lbs	42,238 (= between 20,000 & 30,000 yards according to quality)	

Wool and jeans would have been used for jackets or trousers, kersey for trousers, and "grey cloth" for either purpose, or possibly shirting. "Domestic" probably refers to locally produced cottons or mixes used for shirts or linings along with osnaberg. Drilling, flannel and linsey were used for underwear and shirts, though flannel may also have been used for jackets. A uniform jacket or pair of trousers might be cut from approximately 1½ yards of cloth, with a similar amount of lining for the jacket and less for the trousers, though this was not always expertly done. General Maxey doubted that any uniform he found would fit any of his Indians: "The man or woman that cut these clothes never saw a naked man. I got a pair of pants long enough... and they were not large enough around the waist for a ten year old boy."

It can be seen that Confederate Quartermaster issue was not sufficient, and many men continued to rely on clothing from home. However, by 1864 increasing amounts of material were being imported



Captain J.E. McCool, 9th Texas Cavalry; in this reversed image the breast pocket appears on his right rather than his left side – and note the knife hilt protruding from it. The shell jacket has facings at collar and cuffs, and six "buckeye" buttons; it closely resembles a surviving example in the Oklahoma Historical Society Collections. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

from Great Britain. These included blue-gray and brown-gray blankets, gray army cloth, brown drilling, army shoes, woolen shirts, and complete suits of infantry uniform – often as many as 5,000 in one shipment – as well as individual jackets and trousers. Some of these may have been manufactured by Peter Tait in Limerick, Ireland: blue-gray, eight-button shell jackets with epaulettes with a blue piping. When the war ended in 1865 the Quartermaster's Department was perhaps as well prepared as it had ever been.

Civilian clothing

Many volunteers enlisted in their civilian clothes and remained dependent on supplies from home. Throughout the war appeals were made to, and clothing collected from, Southern families. In some areas homespun was still made; Rebecca Neugin, an Indian woman, recalled: "I learned to spin when I was a very little girl and I could make cloth and jeans for dresses and such other garments as we wore. We never any of us wore store clothes and manufactured cloth until after the Civil War."

Plant dyes were used: indigo for blue, walnut bark for black, maple bark for purple, hickory bark for green, maple and hickory for yellow, and madder, alum and sumac berries for red. In other cases, spinning wheels were brought out of retirement, and the government distributed cotton cards to encourage home production.

Shirts

Tailored shirts were worn, but most would have been of home-made "square cut" pattern. These were baggy, with full sleeves, and in "pullover" style – open from the throat to the chest – with a small turn-down collar or a simple neckband. Buttons were of bone, tin or mother-of-pearl. Materials varied from plain cotton linen and homespun to brightly patterned cotton prints and heavy wool plaids. Shirts are often seen in photographs with elaborate cravats and ties, but it is likely that in the field more simple bandanas and scarves were used.

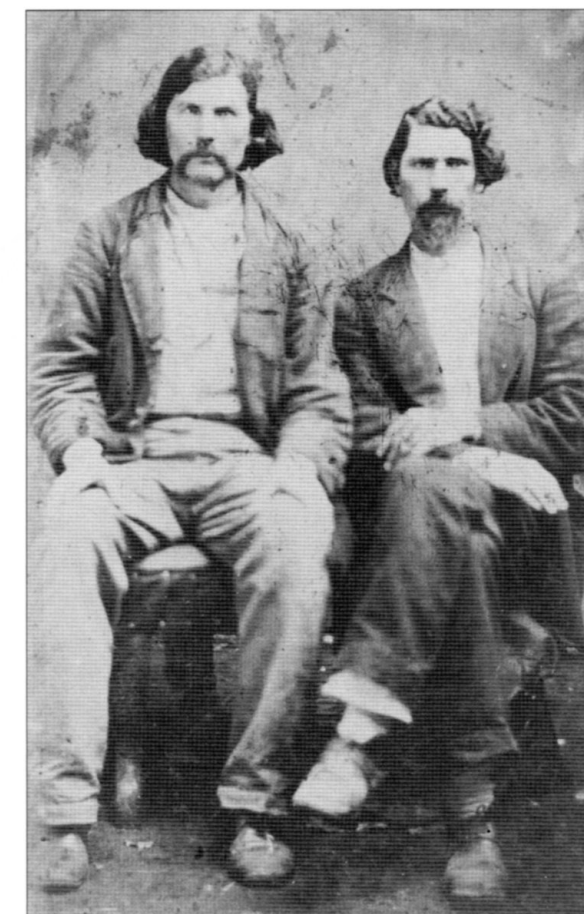
Waistcoats

Waistcoats or vests were often worn over the shirt, which was regarded as an undergarment; they also served to cover the suspenders (braces). Civilian patterns had shawl collars or clipped lapels, and were made of plain wool or patterned cotton or silk. Military styles with stand collars were also popular.

Trousers

Pants usually had the standard French fly, though a few flap-front or side-buttoned pairs may have been seen, and were cut to be worn with suspenders. Wool – sometimes plaid or patterned – and jeans cloth predominated, but fringed buckskin trousers were also seen. Mexican-style trousers with conchos were also popular with Texans; famously, Capt

The Chickasaw brothers Henry and Wyatt Love are dressed in the white man's clothes adopted by many members of the tribe. Henry later served as an ordnance sergeant with Cooper's Indian Division. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



Colonel William Penn Adair, 2nd Cherokee Mounted Rifles, was one of Stand Watie's most trusted officers, and was frequently tasked with reconnaissance. In December 1863 he worked with Quantrill to screen the movement of the main force. Adair took part in the treaty negotiations after the war, when this photograph of him in civilian clothes was taken. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



Samuel Richardson of the 3rd Texas Cavalry was photographed wearing jaguar-skin trousers with conch trim, and matching holsters.³

Jackets

Surviving images show a range of garments from the formal frock coat to ragged sack coats. Stand Watie wore a planter's coat, and an 1865 photograph shows a Cherokee officer wearing a checked duster coat. Buckskin jackets were also worn in the Territory by Texans and Indian troops. Some men also used Mexican blankets in bad weather.

Footwear

A wide variety was in use, ranging from Indian moccasins and Texan versions made of green hides, to high and low boots, and ankle boots and low quarter shoes called "pumps." Private Sparks wrote that "The clothing of the men was light and unsuited for hard service, but almost all wore long boots made of Texas tanned leather with a large flap at the front of the leg to protect the knee." One thing most troops in the Territory had in common was the use of spurs. Private Sheppard of the 5th Texas Partisan Rangers noted after the Second Battle of Cabin Creek: "I drew a pair of boots (US) my size, but could only wear one of them for quite a while, on account of James Yeary stepped on one of my home made spurs. I being barefooted, it shaved off a good part of my heel."

Headgear

Slouch hats, often ornamented with a star, feathers or plumes, were widely worn, as were straw hats and civilian-pattern visored caps. Brims varied in width; several sources refer to sombreros, which are more likely to be broad-brimmed felts than the stereotypical Mexican style. However, John McCorkle did get his from a Mexican wagonmaster.

Confederate accoutrements

Accoutrements were always in short supply. Those seized when war broke out were soon issued. Arkansas had some small tanneries and pieceworkers, but by 1862 the largest factory was the Little Rock State Penitentiary, where thousands of sets of accoutrements were made. Texas had similar establishments along the old cattle trails, and large scale manufacture was set up in Houston. However, Confederate troops in the Territory relied heavily on captured Federal accoutrements.

Cartridge boxes and cap pouches

These followed Federal patterns, though cap pouches were generally of "shield front" style. Economies were made: lead or wooden fastening studs replaced brass, rivets were omitted, and boxes were often issued without shoulder belts. Musket slings were made of canvas with leather reinforcement, and russet leather was widely used. Eventually leather was replaced by black-painted canvas, sewn into three thicknesses for strength.



Three of Quantrill's Raiders celebrate Christmas 1863 in Texas: they are identified as (1) Arch Clement, (2) Dave Pool and (3) Bill Hendricks. Clemens and Pool wear civilian coats, Hendricks may have a Union sack coat; Pool holds a Colt Army revolver, Clement and Hendricks Colt Navies. (Library of Congress)

³ See MAA 430, *The Confederate Army 1861-65: (3) Louisiana & Texas*



This Texan volunteer wears a battle shirt with brass ball buttons. His ammunition is carried in a hunting pouch on his right hip – the left, in this reversed image. It has a powder horn and measure, and the sling, with an unusually wide shoulder piece, carries a sheathed dirk. He holds a shotgun, and a .265in New Model M1855 Colt Pocket revolver – the Root Patent Colt. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

All these styles overlapped; in 1864, Houston Ordnance Depot was producing a distinctive black leather box with an ornate flap featuring tooled edges and a large circular inspector's mark flanked by the letters "CS," but with waist belt loops only. British cap pouches were seen in two patterns: one in russet leather for the waist belt, the other in white buff for the shoulder belt. Enfield cartridge boxes (some fitted with an internal cap pouch) were also imported.

Hunting bags

Many volunteers used hunting bags. These usually had an attached powder horn and measures, and occasionally a patch knife or fighting knife in a scabbard on the shoulder sling; some also contained bullet molds. Bullets were sometimes carried in a "Texas bag," a bull or buffalo scrotum secured by a drawstring; one example had a yellow Texas star sewn to it. Hunting bags were useful because of the variety of weapons in use; ammunition was often issued as powder and lead for men to make up their own loads. Indians sometimes carried beaded bandoleer bags which fulfilled the same purpose.

Waist belts

Oval brass belt plates with the Texas star, and oval or rectangular "CS" or "CSA" plates were worn, and some photographs show circular locket patterns. Union patterns were also used. British brass snake clasps were also issued, but civilian patterns were probably more common than military. These included belts with iron and brass single-roller harness buckles or frame buckles. A popular early war style was the double buckle, a broad belt fastened by two narrower strips with small single-roller buckles.

Holsters

Troops with old-fashioned percussion horse pistols had pommel holsters. These also held revolvers, and were sometimes converted and worn on the waist belt. Many civilian belt holsters were used, usually of russet leather and sometimes with light tooling. These were often carried on the left or right hip with the butt forward for a cross or twist draw. Flaps buttoned directly to the body or were secured with a latch tab and stud or through a tab and a loop; flaps were sometimes cut off to improve access. Open-top California or "Slim Jim" holsters – cut-away so that the trigger guard could be reached and the hammer cocked as the weapon was drawn – were popular, especially with revolver-armed outfits such as Quantrill's Raiders.

Haversacks, knapsacks & canteens

Haversacks were of unpainted canvas, ticking or leather, either copied from the Federal pattern or simply folded "pillowcase" styles. Knapsacks were rare, especially as most Confederate troops were mounted. During 1863, the year the Confederate Ordnance Department stopped issuing

(continued on page 41)

THE CREEKS' RETREAT TO KANSAS
Battle of Bird Creek, December 9, 1861
See text commentary for details



CONFEDERACY: 1st CHOCTAW & CHICKSAW MOUNTED RIFLES

Battle of Bird Creek, December 9, 1861

See text commentary for details



UNION: DELAWARE SCOUTS

Kansas, winter 1861/62

See text commentary for details



CONFEDERACY: 1st CHEROKEE MOUNTED RIFLES
 Battle of Pea Ridge, March 1862
 See text commentary for details



UNION: INDIAN HOME GUARD
 Weer's Expedition, July 1862
 See text commentary for details



THE OSAGE
Hard Rope's fight, May 1863
See text commentary for details



UNION: 1st KANSAS COLORED VOLUNTEER INFANTRY
Battle of Honey Springs, July 17, 1863
See text commentary for details





This Confederate waist belt with an uncommon rectangular brass plate – which may be an officer's or NCO's pattern – was found on the Cabin Creek battlefield. (Author's photo: Collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society)



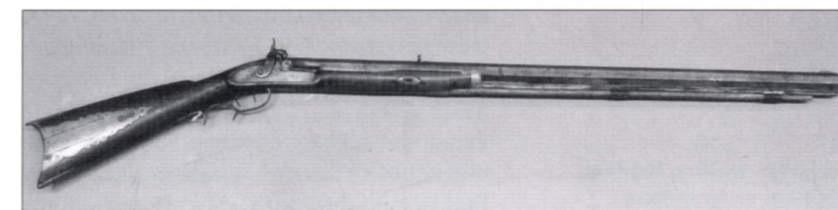
Plains rifles were common in Texas and the Territory, being made by the same gunsmiths who supplied trade guns, or by the Hawken brothers of St Louis. Barrels were generally octagonal, between 26in and 38in long, and calibers ranged from .28in to .53 in. Double or "set" triggers were common. The bottom example of these three exhibits typical Indian usage. The barrel is from the M1817 "Common rifle," the lock and stock by Henry Golcher; the wedges have been lost and replaced with rawhide. (Author's photographs: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum)

CONFEDERATE WEAPONS

Firearms in the Indian Territory

Arkansas seized 10,000 arms, all but 400 of them flintlocks, from the State Armory at Little Rock, and supplied 200 rifles of unknown pattern to the Cherokee in 1861. Few more were forthcoming, and Gen Pike was frustrated by the diversion of firearms and ammunition to other Texas commands. General Steele accepted that his request was unlikely to be fulfilled, as Arkansas struggled to supply its own units. Another difficulty was the often poor quality of black powder imported from Mexico.

In December 1863, Gen Maxey complained that: "the men are armed with guns of almost every variety, making it an exceedingly difficult matter to arrange an ordnance train for an engagement. Many of these guns are almost worthless. If the Indian troops are worth paying and feeding they should unquestionably be so armed as to enable them to do good fighting... I especially call your attention to these items, viz: Unarmed men, 1,084; unserviceable arms 183."



knapsacks, the Trans-Mississippi Clothing Bureau issued over 9,000 haversacks, but only 1,714 knapsacks. Blanket rolls, saddlebags and extra haversacks slung from the saddle would have been far more common.

Cylindrical tin "drum" and wooden "barrel" pattern canteens with cotton straps were the most widely issued Confederate patterns, but water gourds were also used.

As an example of this variety, ordnance officers that year stated that Cooper's Choctaw & Chickasaw Brigade was armed with:

Common rifles, old and worn	460
Shot-guns, old and worn	1,078
Mississippi rifles	76
Sharps rifles	42
Belgian rifles	12
Texas rifles	450
Maynard rifles	2
Muskets, old and worn	416
Enfield rifles, good	265
Minie rifles	20
Hall's carbines	4
Minie muskets	25
Colt's rifles	4

A large proportion of these were "old, worn and scarcely serviceable." This indicates that 1,724 men carried rifles or muskets, of which a maximum of 361 (the Enfield, Mississippi and Minie rifles) could be rated as first-class arms; 1,078 men had shotguns, and 52 carbines (including the Sharps, Maynard and Colt). Some also carried pistols or revolvers; one observer noted that Choctaw and Chickasaw warriors carried three weapons each. It was suggested that if they were issued with long range weapons the Choctaw would become infantry, but this never happened.

Many Indians brought their old trade rifles. The Indian Bureau issued firearms as annuities or treaty payments; in 1817 it promised the Cherokee "one rifle gun and ammunition" for every warrior who moved west of the Mississippi. Similar treaties were entered into with the Choctaw and the Creeks, usually including bullet moulds, nippers, ammunition, wipers and a list (woolen) cover. By 1837, 10,000 had been presented, enough to arm more than half of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw men who settled in the Territory.

So-called "Indian rifles" were manufactured by various contractors such as J. Henry of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In 1837 alone other Pennsylvania gunsmiths supplied at least 6,300: Jacob Fordney, 250; H.E. Leman, 500; Tryon & Son, 1,000; and Henry Deringer, 2,750. In the next few years Deringer received contracts for 6,000 more, and it is thought that over 5,000 of his rifles reached the Territory. Flintlock examples were similar to plain Kentucky rifles, some with patch boxes and some without, with 48in barrels of between .38in and .52in caliber. From the 1830s percussion locks were also being used, and a barrel of 40 inches or less was preferred. Half-stocked versions patterned on the Plains rifle and with shorter barrels were also made, and some of the flintlocks were converted to percussion.



Colt .44in revolving sporting rifles and carbines were manufactured in several barrel lengths and calibers. The .36in and .44in caliber cylinders held six shots, .56in cylinders five, like the shotgun. Although allowing rapid fire, the Colt was slow to reload and prone to multiple discharge. (Author's photo: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum)



Confederate cavalry firearms. The shotgun (top), stamped "Scott" on the lock, is a handy length for use on horseback. Some were fitted with rings stapled to the butt, to carry them from a carbine sling or the saddle; others were carried on improvised slings or in saddle scabbards. The .69in rifled carbine (center & bottom) is typical of the range of arms in service; carbines were generally fitted with a sling bar and ring, though some had swivels. (Author's photos: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum)

Flintlocks were certainly still in use in 1864. Lieutenant Grayson suffered the result of poor fire discipline when one of his Creeks fired "a long flintlock squirrel rifle with which he was armed at the enemy, holding it in his excitement only a few inches away from the left side of my face. The particles of shattered flint from his flint lock and all the priming of the touch-pan at the discharge flew into my face breaking the skin near the left eye and causing some show of blood, and for the nonce completely blinded me."

Other Indians, particularly the Osage, would have used the Northwest gun or "fusil," with its distinctive "serpent" side screw plate, large trigger guard, and barrels that could be as short as 30 inches. These were supplied by American, British and Belgian manufacturers.

Texas troops

Some brought their own firearms, others depended on supplies from the state. Texas acquired 10,000 arms from the San Antonio Arsenal, including single-shot holster pistols, carbines and Colt revolving rifles. These were soon issued, and by November 1861 the remaining flintlocks began to be converted to percussion. After an appeal for firearms more than 40,000 were collected. These would have been the same mix of pistols, revolvers, shotguns, squirrel guns, Kentucky and Plains rifles already in service.

Several Texas contractors produced small arms, including copies of the .54in Mississippi rifle, but the largest operation was at the Tyler Armory. This produced versions of the P1856 Enfield and the Austrian Lorenz rifle assembled from a variety of parts, with ammunition and

Springfield .58in M1855 pistol carbine, and Colt .44in Third Model Dragoon revolver. Both were designed to be used with a detachable stock, and were carried in pommel holsters. (Author's photo: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum)



accoutrements. These "Texas rifles" were viewed as unreliable. General S.P. Bankhead commented on a shortage of them: "This need cause no disappointment, as the Texas-made guns are so indifferent that I would not use them if I had shot-guns or the ordinary hunting rifle. But many of Bourland's command and all of Showalter's, are without arms and I was compelled to take this poor apology for a weapon or leave them behind."

Texas also imported weapons from abroad. After Honey Springs, Capt West of the 2nd Colorado Infantry noted that

"About 80 prisoners were captured, most of them belonging to the 20th Texas Infantry....[they] were armed with new Enfield muskets, marked Tower, 1862, thus showing that old Mother England was patting the southern branch of her descendants upon the back to some purpose."

Most other patterns in Union service would have been found in the hands of Confederate troops in the Territory.

Carbines

The Confederate ordnance manual stated that "nearly all the carbines in our service are breech loading," and refers to the Hall, Sharps, Burnside, Maynard, Merril and Colt revolving carbines. The Hall carbine, the first breechloader adopted by the US Army and made with both flint and percussion locks, was obsolete, but brought back into service during the war. The Maynard carbine fitted with the patent Maynard tape primer was listed in .36in and .52in calibers; however, they were also made with longer barrels and in different calibers. Muzzle-loaders were imported from Britain, including the Enfield .577in P1858 cavalry carbine, with its ramrod fixed by a swivel link, and the P1858 artillery musketoon.

Shotguns

Private Sparks described these as "the favorite arms, and there were many different stamps, from the 'London Twist' to the malleable cast barrel." His own was a "common double barrel shot gun and valued at \$25." They were often cut down for use on horseback. John McCorkle joined Quantrill's raiders with a rifle and just eight cartridges, while his

brother had a shotgun. During his first raid he managed to fill his cartridge box with captured ammunition and used his rifle to good effect, but he soon adopted a shotgun, using a load of 15 pistol balls in each barrel. Private Cater of the 3rd Texas Cavalry described how at Chustenahlah "One big feathered-cap fellow stood out from the trees and continued shooting... I had shot both barrels of my gun and one of my holster pistols at him before he fell."

Pistols and revolvers

Single-shot holster pistols were carried, as were civilian patterns and pepperboxes, but revolvers were in demand. Colt and Remington models predominated, though Southern firms including the Dance Brothers and Tucker, Sherrard & Co in Texas made Colt copies. Alongside the French Le Mat "grapeshot revolver," Adams, Kerr and Tranter revolvers were imported from Britain, and many other American patterns were used. Private Sparks had a narrow escape from one of them, a .36in Savage & North "Figure 8" revolver:

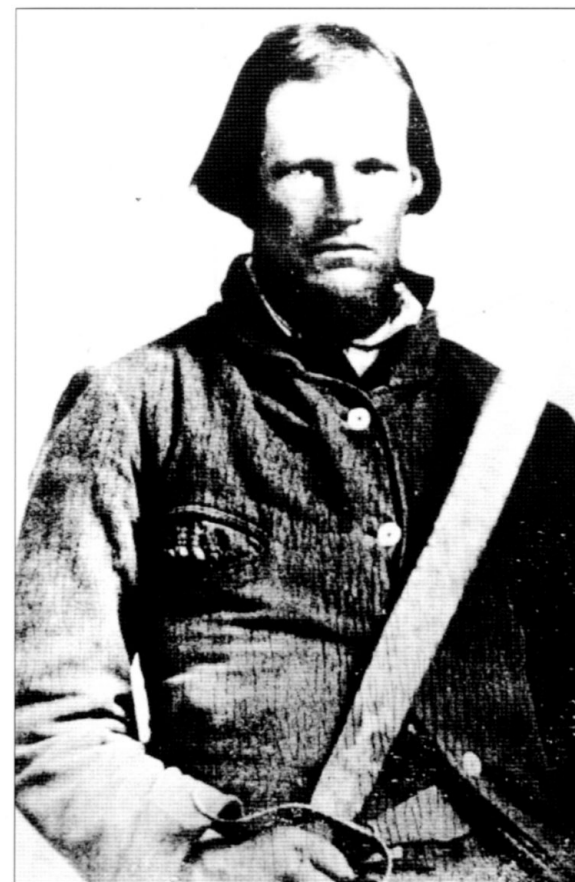
"Captain Stuart carried one of those peculiar pistols that were so constructed that their use required the use of three fingers, the second and third were used to cock the pistol and the first, which was used to shoot by pulling the trigger... he would raise the muzzle of the pistol up and fire as his arm was on a downward movement, and while his hand was raised... he was struck in the

forehead by a large ball... when the body fell, it turned so that the hand raised with the pistol fell across the front of the saddle and the force of the grip discharged the pistol and the ball passed close to my face, 'fearful close.' The ball that killed him on passing out of his head threw a large wad of his brain upon the sleeve and collar of my coat."

Quantrill's men similarly used a downward thrust of the arm to cock their single-action revolvers. The Colt Navy was probably the most common, but John McCorkle traded one of his with a Mexican wagonmaster for a Colt Dragoon.

Revolvers found their way to the Indians in a variety of ways. In 1860 a missionary invested \$300 in revolving pistols and carbines which he later sold to a dealer in Doaksville, while "concealing the matter from other missionaries as best he could." Revolvers were not always in the best condition. One Indian was described as using a revolver "without the cylinder"; while Lt Grayson recalled a white man (admittedly a clerk in the quartermaster's office) about to go into action with a revolver which "had never been shot for many months, and was so corroded that its cylinder would not yield to the effort of the hand to revolve it, much less revolve by the operation of its own mechanism."

Private Francis Warford, Co E, 19th Arkansas Infantry, fought at Boggy Depot on February 9, 1864. Here he displays a massive D-guard Bowie knife. His sack coat combines civilian and military styles, fastening to the throat with bone buttons, and with a breast pocket - on his right, in this reversed image.



Confederate edged weapons

Swords

Regulations prescribed Federal pattern cavalry and artillery sabers and foot artillery and NCOs' swords. The regulation Confederate officers' pattern resembled the NCOs', but swords based on the Federal pattern were produced by European and Southern manufacturers, substituting "CS" or "CSA" for the "US." General Gano's weapon was made by the Nashville Plow Works of Tennessee. Others carried their old regulation swords or enlisted men's patterns.

Union patterns were copied, varying from crude blacksmiths' versions to good quality factory-made examples; and many were imported, including the British Enfield P1853 cavalry sword. Overall, it seems that most were captured from Federal troops or depots. The Confederates did not regard the saber as essential. Watie's Brigade, skirmishers and guerrilla fighters would have been unlikely to use them; Walker's Brigade, seen as more of a "heavy cavalry" outfit, may have carried a few. Although Texans generally relied on the revolver and shotgun, some carried swords – the 30th Texas were issued with sabers in 1862.

Bayonets

Infantrymen were few in the Territory, Burnet's 1st Bn Texas Sharpshooters being a rare exception. The 20th Texas Cavalry were dismounted and armed with Enfield rifles, so it is likely that they were issued with bayonets. Captured Federal patterns would also have been carried by some men.

Side knives

The Bowie knife became a symbol of the South. When war broke out almost every Texan or Indian volunteer carried a knife, and no matter what the actual pattern they were generally referred as "Bowies." Private Sparks wrote that "it is worthy of notice that each soldier carries a huge knife, usually made from an old mill file, shaped by the blacksmith and ground according to the fancy of the owner."

Many Sheffield-made knives were imported, and others were made in Southern factories. Blades were clipped or spear-pointed, and varied in length from 6in to upwards of 2 feet. The 3rd Texas Cavalry had Bowies between 18in and 24in long in leather scabbards strapped to their saddles; others were reckoned to be "heavy enough to cleave the skull of a mailed knight through helmet and all." Hunting, butcher and scalping knives were also brought into service.

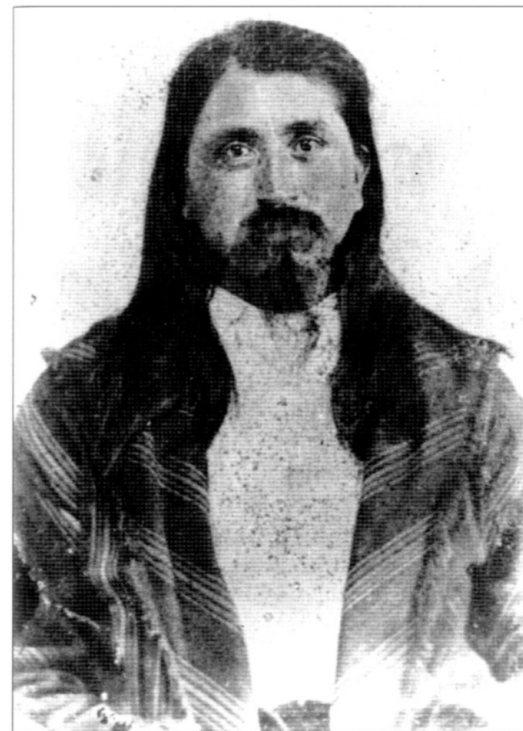
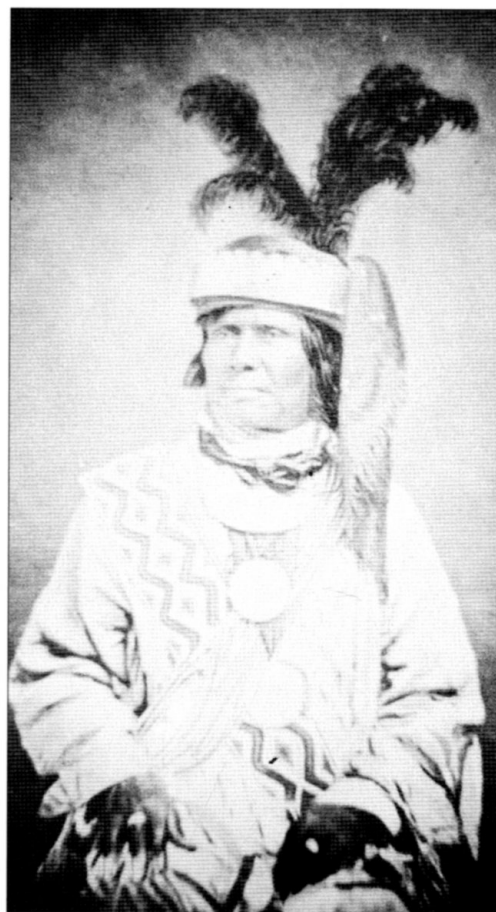
NATIVE AMERICAN CLOTHING

The "Civilized" tribes

The wealthier, particularly amongst the mixed-bloods, had long adopted white styles, but elements of traditional clothing remained. Lieutenant Grayson described how, when he was a child, his uncle "would deck my head out in a turban made out of an old cotton handkerchief;

BELOW

Hulbutta Micco (Alligator) or "Billy Bowlegs," the last hereditary Seminole chief to leave Florida. When he died shortly before the Civil War the Indian Agent reported: "Bowlegs is dead, but others survive who are inclined to create difficulties." He wears traditional Seminole clothing including a silver gorget and turban ring. It seems that another Seminole, So-Nuk-Mek-Ko, adopted his name, joining Opothleyohola and later becoming a captain in the Union's Indian Home Guard. (Smithsonian Institution)



ABOVE

In this image, the Cherokee Zeke Proctor of the Confederate Army's Indian Division wears a striped, fringed woolen hunting shirt. A second surviving photograph shows him wearing a Union sack coat and military waistcoat (like many Confederate Indians) and a dark slouch hat decorated with turkey feathers, and armed with a pair of revolvers carried butt-forwards on a M1851 waist belt. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

bind old pieces of cloths and rags about my legs in imitation of the dressed and smoked buckskin leggings so universally worn by the full blood Creeks of that day..."

Headgear

In 1859, Grayson, who made a point of having his clothing "cut and sewed by the tailor and in the prevailing style," was embarrassed to be seen with his father, who habitually wore a turban fashioned out of a shawl. Such turbans, brightly colored and fringed and often imported from Russia, were still worn and decorated with feathers and silver rings. Narrower woven sashes were also worn wrapped around the head, as were silk and cotton bandannas. Other traditional styles were adopted in war. Private Sparks saw Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek warriors in 1861:

"Some had head coverings that were the skins from the heads of buffalo, bear, panthers, cougars, calves, etc., and quite a number wore the horns taken off with the hide of a buffalo, and others wore no head covering, only a single feather like it might be plucked from the tail of a turkey, eagle, buzzard, or anything else that the wearer might

fancy. I noticed one old warrior on foot who carried a long full stock rifle, he wore leggings and mockasins [sic] in addition to his breech clout and a feather about four feet long that was taken from the tail of a peafowl was his complete wardrobe."

Leggings

Leggings, of buckskin or wool, were generally hip-length and fastened to a thong or narrow belt around the waist, though some were shorter and supported by garters at the knee. These latter could be of hand-woven wool with beads in geometric patterns, or of buckskin painted, beaded or quilted. The Seminole favored a tight legging with a gaiter-like extension at the foot, and a similar surviving buckskin pair is attributed to the Cherokee. Buckskin leggings might be fringed, beaded or embroidered, generally in floral style among the Cherokee.

Moccasins

Moccasins were generally of one-piece, center-seam construction, with a pointed toe and a separately added cuff. The seams were often covered with quill- or beadwork, and the cuffs with silk, velvet or wool trimmed with beadwork. Contact with the Plains tribes may have introduced the center-seam or hard-sole patterns. Barefoot refugees in Kansas were issued with shoes where possible, but were given blanket cloth for the women to make moccasins for their children until skins could be provided.

Shirts

When breechcloth and leggings were worn the shirt was worn loose over them. These were generally made in square-cut pullover style, sometimes with ruffles and frills or ribbon work appliqué; the materials were homespun, linen and cotton prints or even buckskin.



Captain Micco Hutka, commanding Co F of the Union's 1st Indian Home Guard, wears a hunting shirt over a civilian coat. This Creek supporter of Opothleyohola corresponded with the Federal authorities. After the Creeks' defeat at Chustenahlah the Confederates found his letters from the US Indian Commissioner, promising that "the President is still alive... his soldiers will soon drive these men who have violated your homes from the land they have so treacherously entered." (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Hunting shirts

Hunting shirts developed during the later 18th century, and their design was echoed by some of the uniforms adopted by volunteer units in the early days of the war. In the Territory the hunting shirt had remained in use, worn even by those who had abandoned other native clothing. Surviving buckskin hunting shirts have two capes and are knee length, tailored and cut so as to wrap around the body and be held in place by a sash or belt, though some have one or two small buttons to secure them at the collar. (Sashes also remained popular. The Potawatomi of Kansas were described as dressed like their white neighbors, but with a fondness for colored sashes.)

The shirts might have short fringes at the hem, center seam, body, capes, sleeves or cuffs. Decorative styles include ribbonwork appliqué, floral and geometric beadwork, and floral silk embroidery, but plainer examples were also made. Similar decoration was also applied to waistcoats.

Cotton, wool or homespun examples were more usual than buckskin. The McKenney and Hall portraits show striped and printed patterns, with ruffles at the collar and shoulders being more common than capes. A surviving example

in the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society shows further development, being cut shorter to mid-thigh level and with two inset pockets, while retaining a caped collar.

The Agency tribes

The tribes on the Wichita Agency – the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, Kichai and Tonkawa – retained their traditional dress, with the adoption of trade cloth and blankets, and were influenced by their Plains neighbors the Comanche, Kiowa and Arapaho. The Quapaw, Seneca and Shawnee adopted some elements of white dress, while the Osage remained defiantly traditional. The Kickapoo ranged between Kansas and Mexico in an attempt to remain free from white restrictions, and the Delaware traveled widely and absorbed many influences.

Traditional war customs

The use of paint was traditional amongst Native Americans. During the War of 1812, Cherokee warriors were described as having red, white and yellow slashes on their chest and face when on the warpath; and the Seminole used paint during their guerrilla war in the swamplands. Creek men depicted in the McKenney and Hall portraits of 1836 have red and dark blue patterns on their foreheads and cheeks. These range from horizontal and vertical slashes to circular and linear patterns composed of small dots. Similarly, sketches made in the Choctaw Nation in 1853 show men and women with semi-circular lines under the eyes, and a woman with a zigzag line on the forehead and vertical lines on the chin.

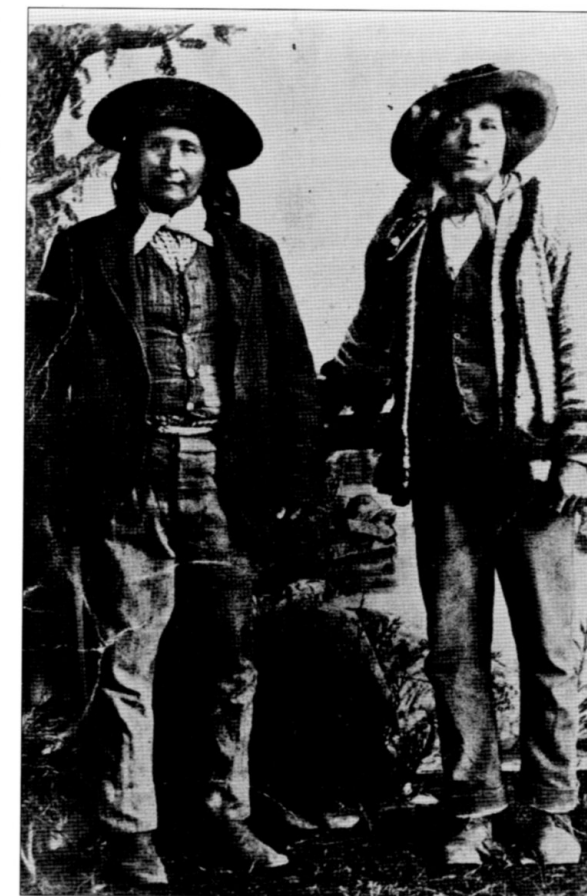
Some of these may be tattoos, using charcoal or gunpowder and red sulphur as coloring. Facial and body tattooing had been widespread among men and women, but it declined as acculturation increased. The Cherokee maintained the practice of "scratching" for ceremonial or ritual purposes, using a sharpened comb of cane splinters or turkey quills, but without leaving permanent marks. By 1861 it is likely that only older, full-blood warriors would have had tattoos.

The outbreak of the Civil War brought a resurgence in war paint. Texans in the Territory during the early fighting noted its use; Pte Sparks described "Cooper's Indians" thus:

"... their faces were painted in such a manner that many of them were frightful to even look upon, there seemed to be no particular design in the manner of their painting, but each one seemed to have been painted according to the fancy of the artist but the most common way of painting appeared to be about three lines of deep red from the edge of the hair down the forehead and met between the eyes, then a large red spot on either cheek that would resemble the outline picture of the sun with spangles, all of red, sometimes black spots, too, were painted and sometimes the eyes were made red, and the mouth outlined to each ear and some were painted black down to the eyes, then the balance of the face red, and many hideous looking faces told of desperate purposes, but if any of them bespoke any rank or had any special meaning I failed to learn them."

Opothleyohola's Creek warriors also painted for war, probably in a similar manner as field signs were used for identification. Sparks was not alone in his mystification as to the symbolism. Although he does not mention it, Opothleyohola's followers wore corn husks in their hair. This served as identification, but also had some ritual significance, probably connected with the *kituwah* society to which many full-blood Indians belonged. Perhaps the only safe conclusion is to note the traditional meanings of red for war and blood and black for death – but even then, Wiley Britton was told that warriors in the Union Indian Brigade painted their faces black when they were fighting hungry. He had campaigned with them, and wrote:

"When starting out on the march every morning any one with this command may have seen this warrior in full war-paint and he might have also heard the war-whoop commence at the head of the column and run back to the rear, and recommence at the head of the column several times and run back to the rear."



Photographed after the war, these Choctaw men wear civilian clothes similar to those worn earlier, though the waistcoats would probably have had a shawl collar or lapels. The hunting shirt (right) is the shorter version which was coming into use in the 1860s – see Plate B. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

After service in the Mexican War and as a scout, the Delaware Black Beaver settled at the Wichita Agency. For guiding Col Emory's Union force to safety, his farm was destroyed and a price put on his head; the Delaware and many other Indians followed him to Kansas, enlisting in the 2nd Indian Home Guard. This group are, left to right, standing: a Kichai Indian; Ararhe (Pawnee); Black Beaver; and Kne'wah-ka-sets (a Kichai chief). Seated: Long Horn (Delaware); Assadawa (chief of the Wichitas); and Possum, who also guided Emory's column. This shows the mix of clothing to be found in the Territory. Black Beaver wears a coat and tie, in contrast to the beaded buckskins and leggings of Chief Assadawa. Trade blankets are worn with shirts, and Kne'wah-ka-sets has an Army overcoat and a presidential peace medal. Bows are prominent, though possibly for their symbolic value only. (Smithsonian Institution)



Private Sam Love of the 6th Texas Cavalry remarked that "while we were forming the Indians were barking like a dog, howling like a wolf and yelling and gobbling like a turkey." The turkey-gobble was a common war cry amongst the Civilized Tribes, and another Texan noted how Opothleyohola's Creeks taunted them by slapping their sides and gobbling.

They may have been influenced by the other tribes encountered after removal. The Osage, who were well known, had continued the practice of tattooing and used elaborate paint on both themselves and their horses. Some of their warriors joined the Indian Home Guard in 1862, the same year that a Confederate Osage Battalion was raised.

Meetings between the Plains Indians and the Civilized Tribes were not uncommon. Cherokee Mary Scott Gordon later described how during the war "The wild plains tribes of Indians met at Armstrong Academy [the wartime capital of the Territory] and asked the half-breed Cherokees to go home with them... A young Arapaho Chief asked papa to let him see his daughter. I was scared to death. He was painted up in green and red paint. He...offered fifty blankets and fifty ponies for me. Papa teased me and said he'd better sell me because he probably wouldn't be offered that much again."

In December 1864 Gen Maxey wrote that, in council at the same place, he had seen "...a 'heap of big Indians' with paint in their hair." Earlier that year, some of Watie's men had painted themselves before the Second Battle of Cabin Creek.

It is likely that the use of warpaint declined amongst the Indian Home Guard as the war progressed and they became increasingly disciplined. (Women also used paint. Emma Sixkiller recalled that when their home was looted there were several women in the gang painted and dressed so as to disguise themselves.)

Painting was only part of the ritual to be performed before going on the warpath. During a lull in the fighting at the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, Lt Grayson's Creek warriors offered him "certain Indian war medicine said to afford protection against the casualties of battle... and



Caddo Indians; originally from the lower Mississippi area, the Caddo in the Territory had moved from Texas along with the Kichai, a related tribe, in 1859. They adopted the horse and elements of Plains Indian culture, as can be seen in this post-war photograph. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

distributed it to those who desired its protection, which they proceeded to use by rubbing it on and about the clothing of the body and limbs."

The war- and scalp dances were still performed. Confederate Indians would gallop their horses round the flag pole at Boggy Depot singing their war songs, and the Osage certainly held a scalp dance after Hard Rope's victory (see commentary Plate F). Indeed, too strong a retention of their traditional customs, which included scalping and taking heads, was one of the reasons Osage warriors were later dismissed from the Home Guard.

Scalping was also practiced by the Civilized Tribes. Sparks attended a scalp dance where the warriors set up a bush within a circle, "and on these limbs were fastened the scalps taken in battle. The usual war whoop was sounded and the same solemn chant and the dancers with paint and arms were performing various quicksteps... at a given signal a warrior was seen to jump into the ring with knife and hatchet in his hands. He made many fierce high jumps as though expecting an enemy, who soon made his appearance on the opposite side of the ring... while the others keep up the chant and the march... they leap at each other like game chicks for a period of several minutes, when finally one will fall while the other stands proudly over his victim waving high above his head a knife and bends down and with a quick movement of the arm he apparently takes off his scalp amid a deafening, howling roar that I cannot describe."

Controversy after the battle of Pea Ridge led to condemnation, but scalping by Confederate and "Pin" Indians continued in the Territory. Some of Quantrill's men adopted the practice, and "Bloody Bill" Anderson was reported as having scalps fastened to his bridle.

Indian weapons

Firearms are described above under "Confederate Weapons."

In the first year of the war Texans described the use of war clubs, scalping knives, tomahawks and bows. Early bows designed for use on foot had staves between 55in and 67in long, later reduced to 40 or 50 inches. They were made of cypress, Osage orange, black locust and hickory, with bowstrings of rolled gut or rawhide, and were sometimes decorated. A surviving Choctaw bow has a black painted design of semi-circles containing black spots along the edge, with larger spots in the center. A Creek bow has geometric burned-in incised patterns. Arrows were fletched with turkey, guinea fowl, eagle or hawk feathers and sometimes painted, generally with red and black hoops. Antler points were seen, but most arrowheads would have been of iron. Quivers were deerskin, sometimes with the hair on, with an attached bow case. A surviving Delaware quiver is fringed and trimmed with red cloth and a band of quillwork around the top; and a Kickapoo quiver had a strap of striped cotton ticking.



A post-war photograph of a Delaware and a Caddo. Delaware Jack Harry (left) wears a fringed hunting shirt in pullover style, with a trade blanket, beaded buckskin leggings and moccasins. Bar-cin de-bar (right), a Caddo, has a wool or cotton shirt and wears his blanket in the traditional style. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

These Tonkawa men were photographed after the war, but retain elements of traditional dress, particularly the roach. The Tonkawa settled on the Wichita Agency, but relations with other tribes were not good; from a different language group, they were less dependent on agriculture. It was rumored against them that they practiced cannibalism; more to the point, they had scouted for the Texans and were loyal to the Confederacy. On October 23, 1862, some 100 Kickapoo, 70 Delaware and 26 Shawnee of the 2nd Indian Home Guard destroyed the agency, killing four employees. The following day agency Indians joined in an attack on the Tonkawa; over half of the tribe were massacred, less than 140 reaching the safety of Fort Arbuckle. The survivors moved to Texas, not returning to the Indian Territory until 1884. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



By 1862 the bow had fallen out of use. Union Indians were regularly issued with firearms, and although Confederate Indians were frequently reported as being unarmed, no attempts were made to encourage the use of the bow. There could be several reasons for this: its short range, the need for long practice to achieve proficiency, and the fact that the Civilized Tribes had been introduced to firearms so long ago that most warriors regarded the bow as an anachronism. Perhaps Indian officers also recognized that use of the bow would reinforce the stereotype of "Wild Indians" which they were at pains to avoid – particularly in view of the Federal propaganda spread after the battle of Pea Ridge.

Tomahawks and axes would have remained in use as tools, if not as weapons. The Indian Home Guard was issued with between six and eight axes per company, but Confederate troops were not always so fortunate. In December 1863, Gen Maxey noted that the Choctaw Brigade had no axes or hatchets to enable it to build winter huts, and that no tents were available.

HORSES & SADDLERY

Few Indians or Texans would volunteer as infantrymen, but would dismount and fight on foot when necessary. Irregular units such as Quantrill's and the Jayhawkers relied on the horse, and the Federal authorities also raised cavalry regiments. Mules and oxen were also needed to operate supply trains. Horses from Texas and the Territory were generally mustang or Spanish breeds; those from Kansas, Missouri and Arkansas were American saddle horses, "gaited saddlers" or "hunters," though work horses and mules were sometimes encountered. Southerners enlisted with their own horses, which were assigned a value and given a "CS" brand. The owner was paid 40 cents a day, and compensated should his horse be killed in action, when he was obliged to supply a new mount or be transferred to the infantry. Private Sparks recalled that his horse, a large black gelding, was worth \$100. After the battle of Chustenahlah he captured four Indian ponies, and horses remained valuable plunder for both sides throughout the war.

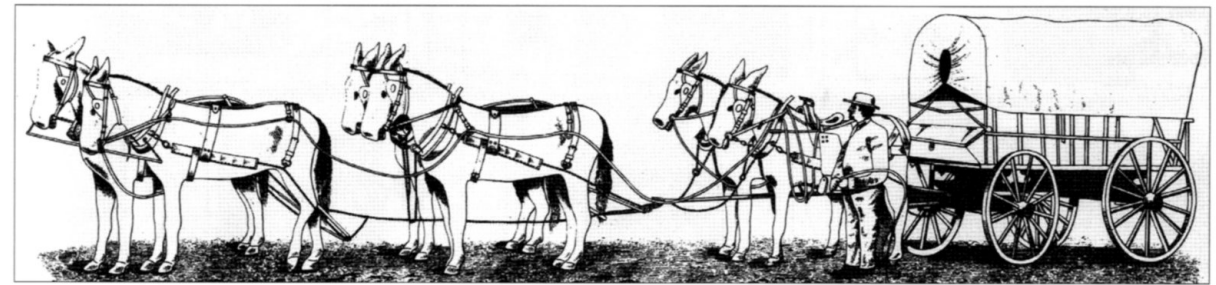
Federal units operated a similar system, but the men were not responsible for obtaining their own remounts.

Union saddlery

The US Army had used Ringgold, Grimsley and Campbell saddles, but in 1861 the regulation model was the M1859 McClellan. With a rawhide seat and black leather skirts and hoods over wooden stirrups, it had coat straps at pommel and cantle and carried a pair of saddlebags at the rear. A "thimble" was fitted to hold the muzzle of a slung carbine. Officers often bought Hope or Texas saddles, an adaptation of the Mexican stock saddle. These were plain working saddles with a pommel horn, a half-rigged seat with small skirts, plain bentwood stirrups, stirrup straps that might have attached sweat leathers, and a single girth.



Private Friedrich Holdmann, 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry; this regiment served in Missouri and Arkansas before being transferred to the Department of the Tennessee. It was supplied with regulation cavalry equipment, as was the 3rd Wisconsin, which remained in the Trans-Mississippi throughout the war. Holdman sits in what may be a McClellan saddle with hooded stirrups, saddlebags to the rear, and regulation blue horse blanket with a red stripe. He wears a black felt hat and a regulation cavalry uniform jacket. Both regiments were issued with M1840 and M1860 sabers. (Wisconsin State Historical Society, ID WHI 7891)



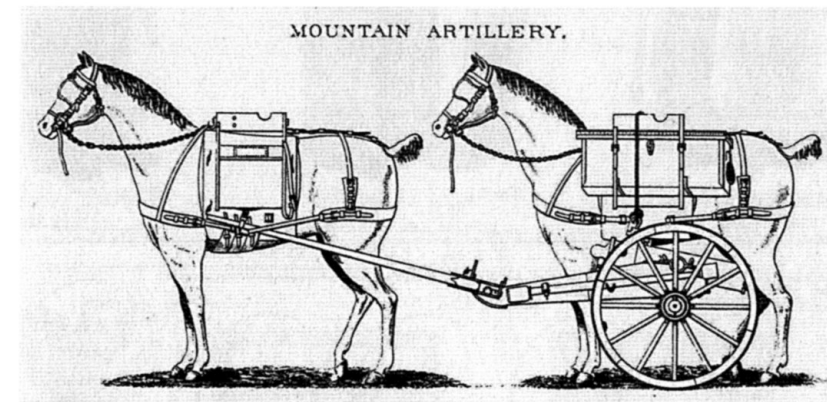
Not enough McClellans were available in 1861 and many men, like Pte Haas, supplied their own horses and equipment. When the 2nd Kansas applied for saddles they were told to acquire them locally, eventually using some California saddles without the *mochila* or leather cover. The government also purchased a version of the California known as the Ranger pattern, and many other civilian saddles would have seen service.

Mules were widely used as pack animals. The regulation Grimsley pack saddle had a rawhide-covered tree and leather breast and breech straps. Another popular style was the Mexican pack saddle of hay-stuffed leather, which covered most of the animal's back.

Confederate saddlery

Regulations called for the M1860 Jenifer saddle, but captured McClellans were more common. Apart from the Texas and Hope, other saddles used in the Territory were the Morgan Muley, a hornless saddle

US Army wagon with six-mule team; these were widely used – during Weer's Expedition the 10th Kansas Infantry and artillerymen sometimes traveled by wagon in order to keep up with the cavalry. In 1864 Confederate units in the Territory held 356 wagons and 31 ambulances, with 45 draft horses, 682 oxen and 1,477 mules. Much of this was captured Union stock; 130 wagons and 700 mules were taken at the Second Battle of Cabin Creek alone. (Author's collection)



M1841 12-pounder mountain howitzer, designed to be carried disassembled on three pack horses or mules, or drawn on this "prairie carriage."

Few artillery pieces were available in the Territory, but those that were played a significant role. At Cowskin Prairie, in a surprise night attack during Weer's June 1862 expedition, Union artillery fire alone routed the Confederates from their camp; and at the Second Battle of Cabin Creek in September 1864, Watie's Confederate artillery gave him a great advantage over an opponent with none. Confederate guns were often manned by men seconded from other units to help their limited number of gunners. The Union 6th Kansas and 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry had attached howitzer sections, which gave good service; Lt Pond found his of particular value at Baxter Springs. They were ideal anti-personnel weapons, but easily outgunned by heavier pieces – as the Confederates discovered at Honey Springs. The most common pieces in Confederate service were this M1841 12-pdr howitzer and the M1841 6-pdr gun. These were also used by the Union; but US troops also had access to the heavier M1857 12-pdr Napoleon and the Parrott 10-pdr rifled cannon. (Author's collection)

with wooden or light iron stirrups; the Plantation or Buena Vista, another hornless saddle with large skirts and wooden box stirrups; and the California and Mexican. Indians would have used all of these, together with a variety of native patterns. These generally had a high, Spanish-style wooden frame with a rawhide seat and were often fitted with wooden stirrups.

Saddles were made in small workshops and government depots in the Trans-Mississippi despite the shortage of materials. By January 1864 the McClellan and the Texas were adopted as regulation.

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THE PLATES

A: THE CREEKS' RETREAT TO KANSAS Battle of Bird Creek, December 9, 1861

Following the Union evacuation, divisions within the Creek tribe led the respected pro-Union chief Opothleyohola to rally his followers near North Fork on the Canadian River; it was estimated that he could field some 1,500 warriors, mostly Creek but including a number of Seminole and also fugitive African-American slaves. Forced by the need to find grazing land, and in hopes of military support, Opothleyohola moved his people towards the Kansas border, fighting a successful rearguard action at Bird Creek on December 9. Due to the difficulty of identifying friend from foe, his men wore corn husks as a field sign on their clothing or in their hair.

A1: Creek warrior

Based on photos from the 1850s, this warrior sports a trade ostrich plume in his hat. He wears a cotton shirt with appliqué decoration, over fringed buckskin trousers. Over his beaded waist sash, with long tasseled "whips," a leather trade belt supports a Bowie knife in a plain sheath,

and a hatchet behind. A beaded wool bandoleer bag carries ammunition for his long .36in rifle, converted from flintlock to percussion.

A2: Creek Warrior

Despite the cold this warrior has stripped off and rolled his shirt and trade blanket coat, in order to fight in the traditional manner bare-chested, in leggings and breech cloth. He displays the silver armlets and gorget of a warrior. A skinning knife would be tucked into his beaded sash, but his main weapon is a heavy hexagonal-barreled .52in Henry flintlock rifle; ammunition is carried in a beaded bandoleer bag and a simple powder horn.

A3: Seminole warrior

This branch of the Seminole had only been removed to the Indian Territory in 1858, and retained many elements of traditional clothing and decoration. This follower of the headman Alligator wears a native-made cotton hunting shirt over a striped cotton trade shirt; traditional woolen leggings

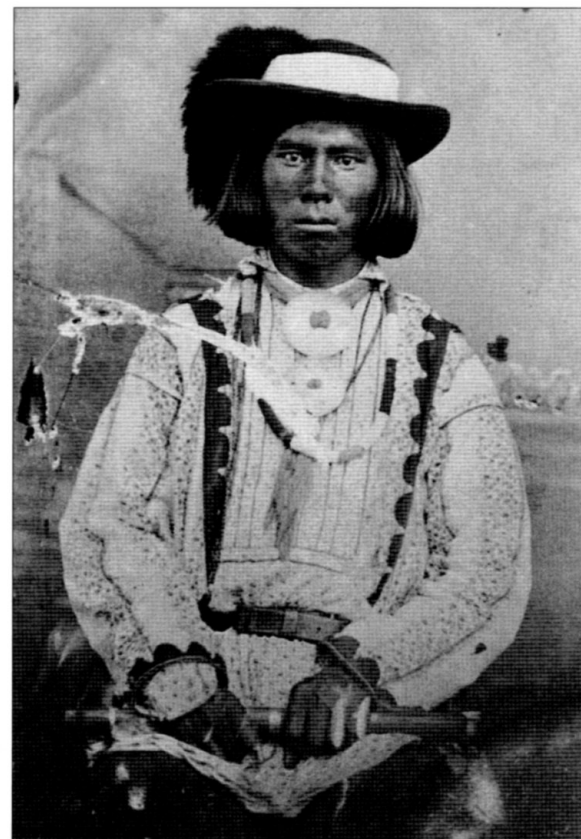
decorated with strips of small brass bells, with beaded front-tying garters; and moccasins with the characteristic puckering to the central seam. He too wears silver armlets and several gorgets, as well as a trade bandanna; his turban and plume are confined by a silver openwork ring. He has a beaded bandoleer bag, and carries a .40in percussion rifle.

A4: Fugitive slave

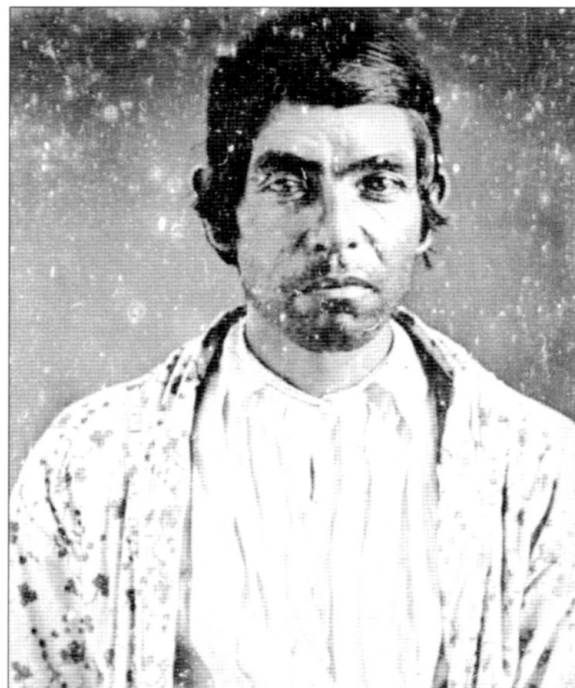
Many African-American slaves fled to Opothleyohola's camp, joining those who already lived with the Seminole; they were welcomed, and armed. This man has received an old M1803 Harper's Ferry flintlock rifle and a trade hunting pouch. He wears an Indian-made cotton shirt with his old homespun trousers and battered hat, but the rigors of the retreat left many barefoot.

B: CONFEDERACY: 1st CHOCTAW & CHICKASAW MOUNTED RIFLES Battle of Bird Creek, December 1861

The Choctaw and Chickasaw were united in their support for the Confederacy under the leadership of their former Indian



This Creek man is dressed in a mixture of styles – see Plate A. His home-made shirt is of printed cotton with ribbonwork appliqué, fastened by a commercially made belt. The slouch hat is decorated in typical style, and he wears a Plains-influenced neckerchief with bone discs in addition to a heavy bead necklace. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)



A prominent Choctaw who became chief in 1870, William Bryant was a signatory to the article of confederation between the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw and Chickasaw and the Confederate States in July 1861. He wears a floral-print hunting shirt with ruffled edges to the lapels, over a dress shirt and plaid wool trousers – see Plate B. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Agent, Col Douglas Cooper. Leading 1,400 men including six companies of his own 1st Choctaw & Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, Cooper set out to force Opothleyohola into submission, or to drive him out of the territory before he could receive support from Kansas. Although checked at Bird Creek, Cooper defeated Opothleyohola at Chustenahlah (Patriot Hills) on December 29, driving him and his followers into Kansas as refugees. Cooper's men were issued with a blue and red string to be worn round the left arm as a field sign.

B1: This man wears a hunting jacket made from wool trade cloth in the shorter style of the 1860s, trimmed with fringing. His other garments are also traded items: a bandanna, plaid shirt, vest, homespun trousers and spurred boots. His civilian double-buckle belt supports a huge knife with a D-guard and a 19in blade. A powder flask and a shot bag for his 12-gauge shotgun are slung from his shoulder.

B2: Private Sparks of the 9th Texas Cavalry, which accompanied "Cooper's Indians," was struck by their varied appearance, "dressed in a garb ranging from a common gent's suit to a breech clout and blanket." This warrior displays one of the individual styles of warpaint he noted (see quotation on page 49), with red lines meeting between the brows and red "suns" on the cheeks. The traditional silk turban was still worn by some. The heavy cotton hunting shirt, based on a surviving photograph, is in the traditional

longer style, but is worn with a conventional dress shirt and plaid woolen trousers over spurred boots. This warrior has a .44in Kentucky percussion pistol holstered on his belt, which also supports a knife. His main weapon is a .60in H.E.Leman percussion trade rifle with brass furniture; he carries ammunition in a powder horn and a cowhide hunting bag, which has two powder measures in loops on its sling.

B3: Painted for war, this old warrior is taken partly from Sparks' eyewitness description: he mentions the face painted half-black, half-red, the headdresses made from skinned animal heads, and an old warrior with a full-stocked rifle, wearing only leggings, breech clout and moccasins. The red flannel flapped leggings are after a Karl Bodmer study of a Choctaw man in 1832. He wears the usual beaded sash and bandoleer bag; his weapon is a brass-furnished .54in flintlock trade rifle by Henry Deringer, 5ft long overall.

B4: As the regiment skirmished on foot through the brush along Bird Creek it was forced to fall back when mounted Creek warriors attacked the horse-holders. It was common practice in the Territory to divide a unit, so that those who had only handguns remained mounted and those with longarms fought dismounted when necessary. This man, armed with a .44in Colt Whitneyville-Hartford Dragoon revolver, is one of the one in every four who was detailed as a horse-holder. His small rolled-brim hat, scarf, and high "mule-ear" boots are from contemporary pictures, as is his heavy dark blue wool civilian coat, with brass buttons, red edge-trimming and plaid lining. Horse furniture in use included a wide range of Indian and white man's patterns, from the Indian rawhide-covered saddle and rope war bridle to the US Army McClellan rig.

C: UNION: DELAWARE SCOUTS Kansas, winter 1861/62

The Delaware had a long-standing reputation as scouts and interpreters for both the Army and civilian expeditions. Some lived in Kansas, while others had settled at the Wichita Agency in the Indian Territory; the Union evacuation and subsequent

Confederate occupation of the agency led most of these to flee to Kansas. There they joined Opothleyohola's followers, and found that Capt Falleaf, a respected Delaware leader, had already raised a company of scouts for the Union army. In spring 1862 many of the Delawares joined the newly formed 2nd Indian Home Guard. Period engravings indicate that they wore their own clothing, a mixture of native and white styles; ostrich plumes and peacock feathers embellished their hats, including many US Army "Hardee" M1858 dress hats.

C1: This warrior wears a Hardee hat with infantry-blue cords, and several ostrich plumes. His magnificent beaded hunting shirt is after a surviving example in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts; Delaware beadwork of the mid-19th century showed influences from the other peoples among whom they settled during their movement West, including the Shawnee and Prairie peoples such as the Osage. Trade trousers are confined by simple leggings of blue woolen cloth bound with red and lined in red cotton; his garters are decorated with old-fashioned quillwork as well as tin cones on the tasseled ties. The beaded moccasins are from an example in the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society. His weapon is a much-decorated .54in M1841 "Mississippi" rifle, and he has its original issue rifleman's pouch and flask.

C2: This figure wears a hat with a quillwork band and peacock plumes (Susan Gott, a Cherokee girl, related how Federal warriors killed the family's pet peafowl for their feathers during a raid on her home). The hunting shirt is reconstructed from a portrait of the noted scout Black Beaver; the waistcoat, leggings and moccasins are from examples in the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He has a .40in trade rifle (with a brass scroll trigger guard, obscured here), and carries his ammunition in an old leather hunting pouch; although the Delaware were famous for their beautifully beaded bandoleer bags, this young warrior has not yet acquired such a desirable possession.

C3: Riding a McClellan saddle, this scout has acquired a number of US Army issue items. Over his trade shirt, bandanna, vest and trousers he wears a US Cavalry overcoat. The NCO's waist belt with M1851 buckle plate supports a cap pouch and two M1860 .44in Colt Army revolvers, one in an issue holster and one in an open holster. Slung from his shoulder on its issue belt is a .52in M1859 Sharps carbine and its cartridge box. His leather leggings are similar to those worn by the Kansas "Redlegs."



This caped buckskin hunting shirt, possibly Cherokee, has geometric and foliate beadwork in white, black, blue and red, with green and pink ribbon trim. (Author's collection)

This well-made Prairie-style beaded buckskin waistcoat exemplifies the mixing of different cultures in the Territory – see also Plate D. Based on a fashionable shawl-collar vest, it has dark brown edging, cloth buckle ties at the rear, and hard rubber Goodyear buttons. The floral-pattern beadwork – in red, pink, two shades of blue, green, yellow, golden-brown and black, with white edging – is in the style that developed amongst the Southeastern Indians and later spread to the Plains tribes. In 1864 this piece was taken from a Cheyenne warrior, Dog Man White Horse, who may have captured it from a Delaware. (Collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society)



D: CONFEDERACY: 1st CHEROKEE MOUNTED RIFLES

Battle of Pea Ridge, March 1862

Although their treaty obligations did not require them to serve outside the Territory, and both treaty payments and promised supplies had failed to arrive, nevertheless 800 men of the 1st & 2nd Cherokee Mounted Rifles agreed to follow Gen Albert Pike to join MajGen Earl Van Dorn's Army of the West in Arkansas. On March 7, 1862, Pike's men took part in the first day's fighting at Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern); on the second day they mounted patrols and scouts, helping to cover the retreat of the Confederate Army.

D1: This man wears a woolen hunting jacket based on an example in the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society; it is of dark blue wool, with black velvet facings at collar, cuff and waistband, scarlet striping and edge-fringing. He also has a collarless cotton print shirt, fringed buckskin trousers and moccasins, and beaded and fringed sash and garters. His brass-furnished .52in Leman rifle, with hexagonal barrel, shows evidence of hard use; ammunition is carried in an unshaven deerskin bag with a deep pointed flap, and the usual powder horn. Period paintings of horsemen in the Territory show much gear attached to the saddles – rolled blankets, saddle bags or ticking haversacks, water canteens or gourds and picket ropes.

D2: The caped hunting shirt remained in use during the 1860s. This senior warrior's beautiful buckskin example, embroidered in the Cherokee style with colored silks and with corduroy collar facing, is based on one in the collection of the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum. He wears butternut trousers and Cherokee moccasins; the slouch hat is a US Army capture. Tucked into the matching sash of his coat is a Springfield .58in percussion pistol; his main weapon is a fine .50in Plains rifle by Charles Siebhart, and he carries ammunition in a St Louis-style pouch.

D3: This man's main feature is his buckskin vest with elaborate silk embroidery on the shawl collar and the four pocket flaps, taken from a surviving example. His heavy wool hunting shirt is thrown over the log; of striped trade cloth, it is fringed with pulled threads at the edges and pockets – a similar shirt was worn by Capt Gunter of Co I of this regiment. He has a British Army pattern shirt, trade trousers and US Cavalry boots. Beside him are his belt, also of imported British pattern with a brass snake clasp, a US Army M1845 cap pouch and a Confederate-made cartridge box. Like many Confederate Indians he is armed with a 12-gauge shotgun, here mended with copper wire; he has also acquired a .44in Starr Army revolver, which he would carry thrust into his belt for lack of a holster. Typically he would also carry a knife, or a hatchet tucked into the back of his belt; after this battle it was controversially alleged that some Union casualties had been mutilated and scalped.

D4: This is the sergeant color-bearer. The flag (left) had five red stars surrounded by 11 white on the blue canton, and bore the red inscription CHEROKEE BRAVES; it was later lost at the battle of Locust Grove on July 3, 1862.

The main CS Quartermaster Dept depot for the Territory was at faraway Bonham, Texas, and despite all its efforts supplies to the Indian commands were few and far between. Most men – even Gen Watie himself – had to fend for themselves where clothing was concerned; and this shell jacket, with yellow cavalry facings, was an ideal rarely achieved. The sergeant also wears captured Union sky-blue trousers and high riding boots. As the color-bearer he is armed with a pair of 1851 .36in Colt Navy revolvers in flap-top holsters, on a belt with a Confederate "CSA" version of the M1851 buckle plate. This also supports a regulation Union cap pouch and revolver cartridge box, and a D-guard Bowie knife.

E: UNION: INDIAN HOME GUARD Weer's Expedition, July 1862

E1: Creek 1st lieutenant, 1st Regiment

After the hardships suffered by the Indians who had fled to Kansas, it was decided to launch an expedition to restore Union control of the Territory. Two new regiments, the 1st & 2nd Indian Home Guard, were raised among the refugees; the 1st was primarily composed of Opothleyohola's Creek and Seminole followers, the 2nd of a broader mix including Delaware, Osage, Quapaw, Caddo, Shawnee and Kickapoo. On June 28, 1862, they entered the Indian Territory as part of Gen Weer's 6,000-strong command. Despite initial success the campaign was a failure, and the Home Guard were withdrawn to Kansas.

This leader wears a Union forage cap without insignia, and an officer's frock coat with shoulder straps of rank. Many of the Home Guard displayed the badge of the pro-Union Indians – crossed pins, here on his right breast (thus the nickname "Pin Indians"). His sky-blue trousers are tucked into tooled non-regulation "Napoleon" boots. Over the officer's red waist sash he wears a cavalry belt, supporting the M1850 officer's sword, a cap pouch, and the holster for his imported English revolver – an 1857 .44in Adams Army model.

E2: African-American corporal, 1st Regiment

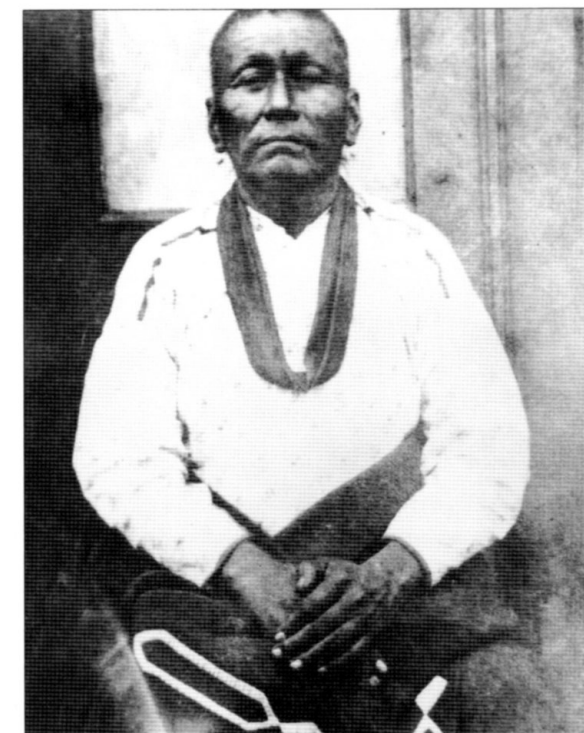
More than 20 African-Americans served with the regiment, many of them as NCOs and interpreters. Surviving photographs and records show that the Home Guard were issued with some elements of cavalry equipment, particularly late in the war, and were often mounted. This man wears US Cavalry insignia on his M1858 hat, and has added yellow corporal's chevrons to his ill-fitting sack coat. His accoutrements are standard US Infantry issue, however, including the M1857 cartridge box and M1842 bayonet scabbard; and he carries an old Prussian .72in M1809 smoothbore musket converted from flintlock to percussion. He, too, displays the crossed pins sign on his right breast, and has a quilled buckskin "possibles bag" on his belt.

E3: Shawnee private, 2nd Regiment

Most of the Home Guard were mounted whenever possible. This scout, who has been walking and leading his pony, has slung over its Indian saddle his canteen, sack coat, and the (no doubt hated) brogans. His weapon is the .54in M1817 rifle, converted to percussion, and here decorated with an eagle's foot tied to the sling swivel; originally known as the "common rifle," this was termed the "Indian rifle" when issued to the Home Guard. He would carry on his waist belt the M1841 cartridge box and a cap pouch of roughly the same vintage. Note the pipe bag hanging from his neck.

F: THE OSAGE Hard Rope's fight, May 1863

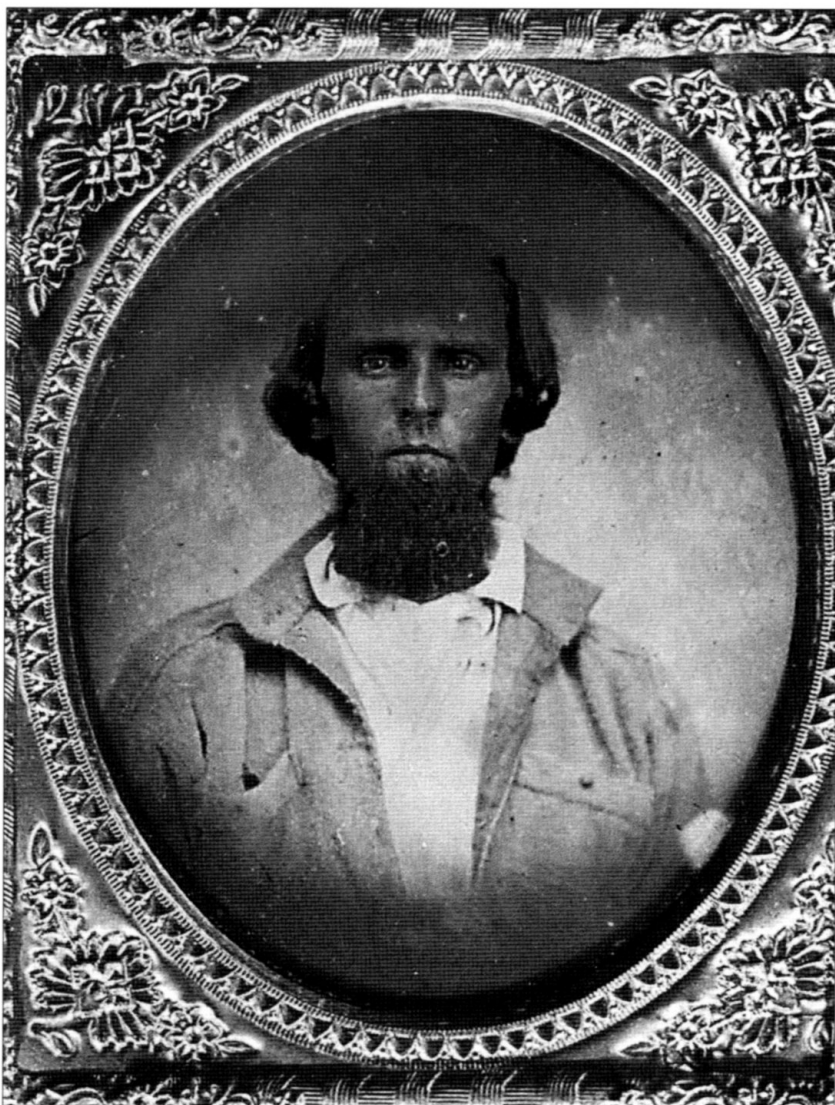
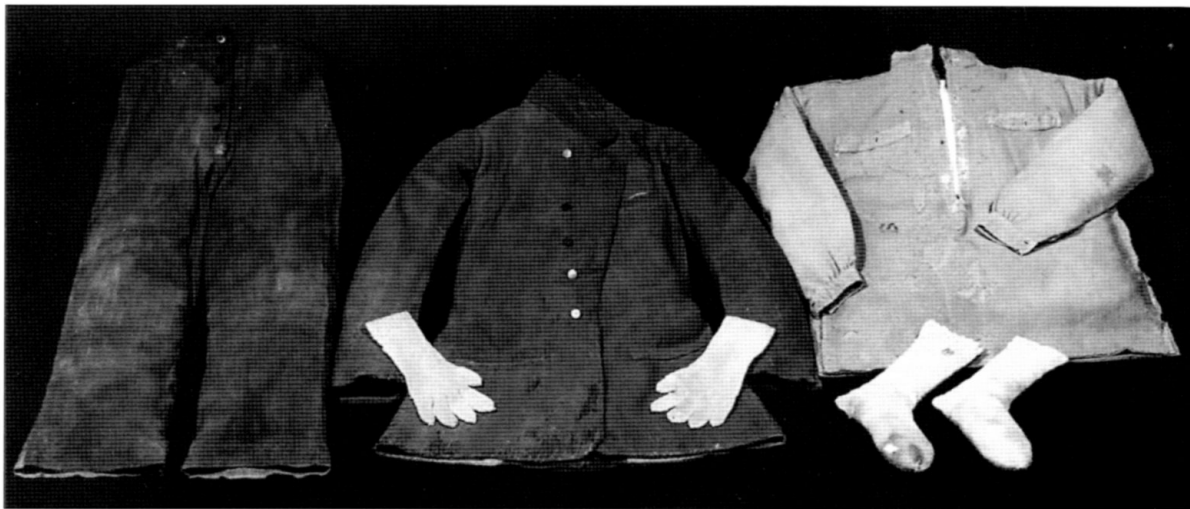
Osage warriors served with the Union 2nd Indian Home Guard and the Confederate Osage Battalion, but the majority remained guardedly neutral. On May 16, 1863, Hard Rope's warriors challenged 20 men dressed in Union clothing; after one of the warriors was killed the Osage wiped out the intruders, who were later discovered to be disguised



The Osage chief Hard Rope – see Plate F – wears leggings and a blanket with typical Osage ribbonwork, and has the traditional hairstyle and earrings. The Osage knew the men of the 9th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry who patrolled the Osage reservation. On May 16, 1863, near the Verdigris river, they encountered soldiers they did not recognize and who refused to accompany them to a Union post. After a warrior was shot, Hard Rope led the attack that wiped them out. When he showed their bloodstained papers to a Union officer, it transpired that the dead were a party of Confederate officers on a mission to raise funds and recruits in the West, and possibly to persuade the Plains tribes to fight for the Confederacy. (Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Confederates. These reconstructions of warriors preparing for the scalp dance after their fight are partly based on George Catlin's paintings from life made years earlier, and partly on later photographs – which indicate that the Osage maintained many of their traditional ways during the 1860s. These included the shaving of the head to leave only a scalp lock worn with a roach, bear-claw necklaces, and the wearing of moccasins with leggings and a breech cloth.

F1: This mounted warrior's leggings are buckskin fringed with horsethair, decorated with quillwork strips – as are his moccasins. His multi-colored sash and his garters are decorated with glass and white beads respectively. He is equipped for war in the traditional manner with lance, bow in a deerskin case, tomahawk, and feather-decorated shield. The breast band, saddle and saddle blanket are based on examples in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections, the



The only surviving uniform known to have been worn in the Indian Territory is that of Pte Burton Marchbanks, 30th Texas Cavalry. Enlisting in July 1862, he was seriously wounded and captured at Honey Springs; paroled, he returned home to die. The outfit was made by his wife of homespun butternut jeans cloth, only the plain brass jacket buttons being supplied by the CS government; the wool knit socks and gloves are also of butternut shades. The jacket is a sack coat with an open collar and three pockets. Marchbanks wears the pullover battle shirt in the portrait herewith. (Layland Museum, Clayburne, Texas)

latter of wool with the appliqué decoration for which the Osage were noted; note also the wooden stirrups, and a scalp tied to the plaited leather bridle.

F2: The tattoo design visible under the warpaint at his neck shows that this warrior is faithful in keeping the rites of the Pipes. Slit ears and ear decorations were also popular. As well as the handsome bearclaw necklace this warrior wears a Peace Medal, as presented by Thomas Jefferson in 1801. Around his head is bound a woven wool sash; similar sashes were used around the waist and as garters – often beaded, like these ones based on examples in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections. His breech cloth and moccasins are beaded, and the latter are also edged with tin cones and hair tassels; his leggings are decorated with strips of intricate ribbonwork. He carries a .58in flintlock Northwest Company trade musket, and a powder horn on a homespun wool sling – a pricker and powder measure hang from the nozzle chain. His tomahawk haft is wrapped in red woolen cloth.

F3: This warrior, who illustrates the Osage hair roach, wears a bearclaw necklace with a rear trailer of bearskin. His woolen breech cloth and leggings with ribbonwork decoration, and beadwork garters, are from examples held by the Oklahoma Historical Society. In addition to his bowcase, quiver and tomahawk he still carries a traditional “gunstock” war club.

G: UNION: 1st KANSAS COLORED VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

Battle of Honey Springs, July 17, 1863

Men of this regiment, raised in August 1862, were mostly fugitive slaves from Arkansas, Missouri and the Indian Territory. On July 17, 1863, the 1st KCVI formed part of the Union Indian Brigade at the battle of Honey Springs. Fighting alongside white and Indian units, the regiment was praised by Gen Blunt in his report: “The 1st Kansas (Colored) particularly distinguished itself: they fought like veterans, and preserved their line unbroken throughout the engagement. Their coolness and bravery I have never seen surpassed; they were in the hottest of the fight and opposed to Texas troops twice their number, whom they completely routed.”

G1: Sergeant, Company F, with National Color

This NCO wears a shell jacket made by cutting down the enlisted man's frock coat – note the infantry-blue piping around the collar and cuffs. His M1840 NCO's sword is frogged to the left of his enlisted man's waist belt, which also supports a privately purchased 1855 .265in Colt Pocket revolver and a cap pouch. He carries the National Color presented to Capt Ethan Earle's Co F, which Earle described as follows: “This flag was made in August 1862, by the wives and friends of the men composing the company, which I enlisted into the service of the United States as soldiers, and under this flag fought the first battle, October 29, 11 men killed, 11 wounded, for the Union and their freedom, fought by colored troops, while they, by the laws of the country, were yet slaves... This flag was originally made more than twice its present length, too long for use. This part was furled and bound to the staff, til the end was worn to rags, which was cut off, and this part unfurled.” (Here we have “unfurled” the flag in order to show the canton detail.)

G2: Sergeant with Regimental Color

This NCO is wearing the untrimmed frock coat, with sergeant's chevrons on his sleeves and a dark blue stripe on his trouser seams. He carries his sword on the regulation shoulder belt, held down by the M1851 NCO's waist belt; his haversack and canteen, like G1's, are slung on his right side so as not to interfere with his sword.

G3: Corporal

In full marching order, this corporal is distinguished by the two chevrons on his sack coat, and the half-inch trouser welt. His accoutrements include the M1857 .69in cartridge box and M1842 bayonet scabbard. His weapon is the M1842 rifled musket, converted from the original flintlock to percussion action and fitted with a rear sight between 1856 and 1860.

H: CONFEDERACY: QUANTRILL'S RAIDERS October 1863

After the battle of Baxter Springs, Quantrill continued to ride through the Territory on his way to winter in Texas. On October 10 he encountered a detachment of the 1st Indian Home Guard; his report stated that “we brought none of them through” – i.e., he took no prisoners. Quantrill's men fought on horseback, and their primary weapons were revolvers holstered on belts or on the saddle – sometimes six or even eight per man, of varying models including Colts, Remingtons, Starrs and Kerrs. Although they often wore captured Union clothing and equipment, their “uniform” was the so-called guerrilla shirt. The examples shown here are based on surviving photographs and engravings.

H1: This raider has a guerrilla shirt of red faced with dark blue, the facing strips embroidered in silks; those edging the neck opening terminate in a rosette on the chest. Note that one of his armory of revolvers is holstered on the external face of his pommel bag or *cantana*, beneath its tooled flap. As back-up he also carries a double-barrel 12-gauge shotgun, cut down to a handier length.

H2: Photographs depict Quantrill's men in a variety of clothing, including this frock coat. The shirt, of black velvet embroidered with a floral pattern in colored silks, is based on one worn by “Bloody Bill” Anderson. The pockets were used to carry ammunition and sometimes spare pre-loaded revolver cylinders; it was easier to exchange these on the solid-frame Remingtons than on the open-frame Colts. He carries one of his revolvers in the holster/pommel bag rig made for the Grimsley saddle – the bag hangs on the far side – and beside it a thong loop round the pommel supports an M1853 .52in Sharps carbine. As a close-quarter weapon he has a dagger inside his mule-ear boot.

H3: This dandified raider wears a guerrilla shirt of light brown homespun, trimmed with ruffled black silk ribbon; again, note the rosette effect on the chest. He carries no fewer than six revolvers: on his hips in a military and an open civilian holster, in a pair of M1855 pommel holsters, and behind his saddle in a reversed pair of captured US Army officer's pommel holsters with shaped covers. He has fitted one of his huge .44in Colt Third Model Dragoons with its detachable shoulder stock, with an added strap loop for slinging it from the pommel.

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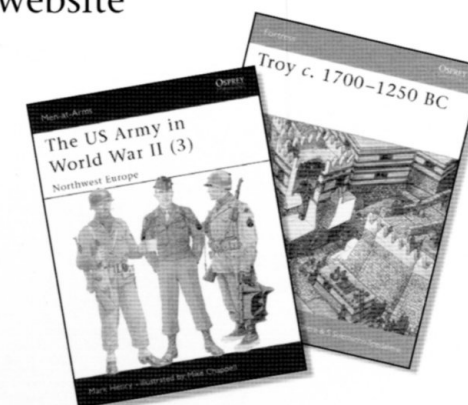
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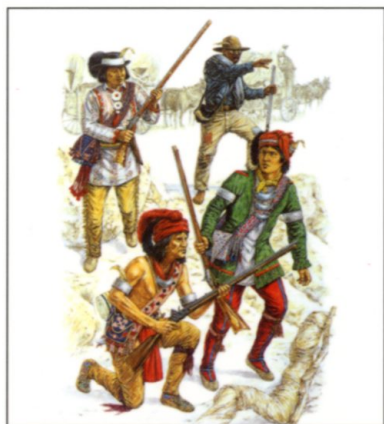
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